

A Text-Critical and Literary Analysis of 1 Enoch 6-11

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Abstract:

The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11 is the oldest example of the fallen angels story in Jewish tradition. It tells of the introduction of forbidden secrets into the earth, and the ensuing destruction this caused. The following thesis presents both a literary and textual hypothesis.

Attested fully only in the classical Ethiopic version which was preserved by the Ethiopian Orthodox church, there are also two Greek sources (Codex Panopolitanus and the excerpts in Syncellus), a Syriac excerpt from the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, a Karshuni translation made from the Syriac and, finally, the Aramaic fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The textual hypothesis suggests that the most reliable textual witness is the Greek version Codex Panopolitanus. To date, this source has been considered rather unreliable, but this view is challenged. To enable the construction of the textual hypothesis, the sources for each verse have been assembled and analysed. The evidence and the analysis are presented in a clear verse by verse format, with the overall analysis following at the end.

In addition to the textual hypothesis, there is also a literary-critical hypothesis which analyses the narrative in its component parts. This literary hypothesis suggests that the narrative was

originally an anti-divination polemic which was subsequently modified to attack other evils such as weaponry and make-up.

Finally, the narrative was placed into the wider context of the *Book of Watchers* which, having a more positive attitude towards the mantic arts, countered the original purpose of the narrative.

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§1 - Introduction

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§1.1 - Introduction

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The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative, comprising chapters 6-11 of 1 Enoch, is located within the Book of Watchers - the first of the five books which make up the so-called Enochic Pentateuch.¹ This narrative tells how a group of angels descend to the earth and fornicate with human women. This unnatural union causes a race of giants to be born and ravage the earth. The four archangels then intercede on behalf of the ravaged earth and stir the Most High into action. Whilst judgements are pronounced upon the sinful angels and their giant progeny, particularly the angel Asael, salvation from the impending deluge and the joys of a restored earth are promised to the righteous progeny of the *son of Lamech*.

These chapters have long been considered a composite unit, made up of a number of strata.² A number of different theories have been advanced,

¹ 1 Enoch contains the following books: The Book of Watchers (chap. 1-36); the Similitudes (chap. 37-71); the Astronomical Book (chap. 72-82); the Book of Dreams (chap. 83-90); and the Epistle of Enoch (chap. 91-108). Due to the lack of any fragments from the Similitudes being discovered among the Enochic fragments from Qumran, and the discovery of fragments of a Qumran Book of Giants, it is thought that the Similitudes displaced the Book of Giants at some point in late antiquity. For recent discussions on 1 Enoch and the Book of Giants, c.f. John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* ² (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), 43 ff. The designation of these five books as an Enochic Pentateuch should be considered in the light of the comments made by D. Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch" in VT 33 (1983), 14-29. The Book of Watchers can be divided as follows: Introduction (chap. 1-5); the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative (chap. 6-11); the Petitions of the Giants (chap. 12-16); Enoch's Journeys (chap. 17-36).

² That 1 Enoch 6-11 contains at least two cycles within it was pointed out as far back as R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), II 191. C.f. Carol A. Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgement" in CBQ 42 (1980), 310-329, especially 313-4 where Newsom summarises the theories on the redaction of 1 Enoch 6-11. It is generally agreed that the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11 is the Shemihazah Narrative, to which were added either one or two other layers. This is discussed in more detail below.

most notably by Hanson,³ Nickelsburg,⁴ Molenberg⁵ and Dimant⁶ which attempt to establish how this section of 1 Enoch was composed. Any literary analysis of these chapters must take these studies into account.

1 Enoch 6-11 is probably an independent unit which was inserted into the Book of Watchers at an early date.⁷ The Qumran fragments from Cave

³ Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11" in *JBL* 96 (1977), 195-233.

⁴ George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11" in *JBL* 96 (1977), 383-405.

⁵ Corrie Molenberg, "A Study of the Roles of Shemihazah and Asael in 1 Enoch 6-11" in *JJS* 35 (1984), 136-46.

⁶ D. Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11: A Methodological Perspective" in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula: Scholars, 1978), I 323-39.

⁷ Newsom [(1980), 312 & 315] summarises the arguments for the independence of 1 Enoch 6-11 as follows: There is no reference to Enoch in this section; the introduction to the next section [1 Enoch 12:1-2] is an awkward attempt to associate the following section and the person of Enoch with the preceding anonymous narrative; the interpretation of the death of the giants differs between the two sections. C.f. Molenberg (1984), 146; Dimant (1978), 323. This appears to be the dominant view, although it has been challenged by John J. Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg" in Achtemeier, ed. (1978), 315-22, who argues that there is no evidence that 1 Enoch 6-11 ever circulated as an independent composition. Furthermore, Collins points out that there is a unity to the whole of 1 Enoch 6-36, with chapters 12-16 continuing the story of the Watchers and chapters 17-36 continuing the heavenly journey begun in chapter 14. Collins further asserts that the cosmology of chapter 22 is linked to that of chapters 6-11 in how they describe the habitations of the dead - c.f. Collins (1978), 315. This argument concerning the independence of 1 Enoch 6-11 is quite important as it has strong implications on the purpose and perspective of the text. It is the opinion of the present author that the independence of 1 Enoch 6-11 must be asserted for it to be understood correctly. Collins' objections are based on the fact that the Enochic corpus which follows the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative complements the preceding narrative. This does not, however, mean that 1 Enoch 6-11 was not a distinct narrative at some point before its incorporation into the Enochic corpus. Rather it demonstrates how well a later redactor adopted his source and in what ways his version changed the meaning of the original. This concurs with Nickelsburg who notes that the unity of 1 Enoch 6-36 does not compromise the original independence of 1 Enoch 6-11 - c.f. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins' 'Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch'" in Achtemeier, ed. (1978), 311-4. Other articles in the same volume which are relevant to this topic are: Paul D. Hanson, "A Response to John Collins' 'Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch'" (pp. 307-9); James C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources" (pp.229-51).

Four show that, by the first half of the second century BCE,⁸ the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative as we know it from its later translations was already incorporated into the main body of 1 Enoch.⁹ Newsom, however, argues at length that only the core stratum (i.e. the Shemihazah Narrative) was initially incorporated into the main Enochic corpus, and that the later strata were added to this core by comparisons with the Enochic tradition it had been incorporated into.¹⁰

Dimant asserts that 1 Enoch 6-11 is an abstract from “an independent midrashic source” which was inserted into the Enochic corpus in order to provide the context for 1 Enoch 12-16 - the section which describes the Watchers’ petition.¹¹ Dimant further postulates that this could explain the existence of the Hebrew fragments from Qumran, 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis}.¹² According to Barthélemy and Milik, these fragments represent the remains of a Hebrew Noahic narrative not too dissimilar from the *Book of Noah* suggested by Charles in 1912¹³ - long before the discovery of the Qumran corpus - and attested in the book of Jubilees.¹⁴ Charles later identified a

⁸ Milik’s own suggestion for the date of the fragments. J. T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 140. C.f. also Hanson (1977), 197.

⁹ Milik (1976), 25, goes further than this and asserts that the author of the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36) incorporated the whole of chapters 6-19 into his composition “without many great changes”.

¹⁰ Newsom (1980), 319 ff. Newsom’s hypothesis is discussed in more detail below - c.f. §1.3.

¹¹ Dimant (1978), 323.

¹² Dimant (1978), 332 - note 3. For these fragments, c.f. D. Barthélemy & J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Qumran Cave 1* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 84-5, 152 & plate XVI.

¹³ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), xlvii.

¹⁴ C.f. Jubilees 10:13 & 21:10.

number of references, including 1 Enoch 6-11, as excerpts of an earlier *Book of Noah* which had been incorporated into the Enochic corpus.¹⁵

Whilst Charles' *Book of Noah* hypothesis merits serious consideration in a critical analysis of the Book of Enoch, 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis} are far too fragmentary to give any firm evidence for an original Hebrew *Book of Noah*.

From 1Q19, one can read the following with confidence:¹⁶

[they have grown strong [...] earth]נברון[ארץ]

his/its way [upon] the eart[h]דרכו ע[ל] הארץ]

[before God and [] לפני אל ו[¹⁷

The correspondence of 1Q19 to 1 Enoch 8:4-9:4, suggested by Barthélemy and Milik, is not at all clear due to its very fragmentary state.¹⁸

¹⁵ Charles asserted that 1 Enoch 10:1-3 belong to an *Apocalypse of Noah* and that "indeed, (1 Enoch) vi-xi is all Noahic." Furthermore, Charles suggested that fragments of the earlier *Book of Noah* could be found at 1 Enoch 60; 65-69:25; 106-107. This is because the subject of these sections is Noah, and not Enoch, and because the accounts of Noah in Jubilees presupposes these sources. Following this, Charles noted that 1 Enoch 88-89:1 is presupposed by 1 Enoch 10, and that 1 Enoch 54:7-55:2 is probably derived from the same source. This caused Charles to conclude that the Noahic traditions predate the Enochic traditions, and that the latter are based upon the former - c.f. Charles (1913), II 168 & 191. Black's argument against regarding these Noahic sections as a "foreign body" within the Enochic corpus appear to be weak - c.f. Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 8. The present author also considers 1 Enoch 10:1-3 to be Noahic, although Charles' assertion that the whole of 1 Enoch 6-11 is Noahic is doubtful. This is discussed in more detail below.

¹⁶ The present author's reading of 1Q19, as with the other Qumran fragments discussed, differs from that of the original publishers who, one feels, were sometimes too optimistic in their restoring and identifying of fragments.

¹⁷ There are parts of six lines visible, but only the three given above contain more than just odd letters.

¹⁸ Barthélemy and Milik [(1955), 84-5] suggest *Description of the Moral State of Man* as a possible title for this fragment, and postulate that it preceded the intercession of the four archangels. They suggest the following restored translation: ... et] il ét[ait ... les impie]s se

From 1Q19^{bis}, one can read the following with confidence:¹⁹

[טנו לפ]

[beneath you [] תחתך]

[and Gabriel [] ונבריאל]

[אר] [ו]

Barthélemy and Milik's placing of this fragment in 1 Enoch 8:4-9:4 is extremely unlikely. What can be read with confidence is most fragmentary, and the phrase תחתך does not correspond to the text of 1 Enoch at all. Moreover, even if one accepts their restoration, the angel Gabriel occurs out of place when compared with the known text of 1 Enoch.

Thus the Hebrew fragments 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis}, which Dimant suggests may provide evidence for her "independent midrashic source" from which 1 Enoch 6-11 was abstracted, prove to be of little value due to their fragmentary nature.

sont multipliés sur la terre et ... [car tout le monde a perverti] son chemin sur la terre ... et quand les hommes périssaient, ils se mirent à crier et étaient arrivés] leurs [cri]s devant Dieu et ...

¹⁹ For 1Q19^{bis}, Barthélemy and Milik suggested the following restored translation: ... or donc, c'est à vous, les saint]s des ci]eux que les âmes des hommes proposent leur cause, en disant: Portez] notre [cau]se dev[ant le Très-Haut ...] et non sous ta (domination). [Et Michel, Uriel, Rapha]el et Gabriel [ont dit au Seigneur du Monde: ... Seigneur] des Seigneurs et Pu[issant des Puissants! ... le trône de ta gloire (se tiendra) durant toutes les générations] des siècles ... [Barthélemy & Milik (1955), 152]. No photographic plate of this fragment, however, is given in this publication, and the restoration is far too bold.

For a photograph of this fragment, with a brief discussion, see J. C. Trever, "Completion of the Publication of some Fragments from Qumran Cave I" in RQ 5 (1964-6), 323-44.

We must, however, consider how Barthélemy and Milik's conclusions regarding 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis} would effect the other hypotheses concerning 1 Enoch 6-11. As mentioned above, they identified these fragments with 1 Enoch 8:4-9:4. This section of 1 Enoch is generally accepted as being part of the core stratum of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative.²⁰

Therefore the Hebrew fragments, which according to Barthélemy and Milik represent the Noahic source utilised by the author of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative, are fragments which they relate to the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11. Thus Newsom's hypothesis, that only this core stratum was initially incorporated into the Enochic corpus, is compatible with Dimant's suggestion that the Hebrew fragments could represent the original tradition.²¹

It is the present author's opinion, however, that such discussions concerning the development of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative and its insertion into the Enochic corpus are based upon a number of presuppositions which remain, as yet, unestablished. The chief of these is the existence of such an Enochic corpus into which the Narrative is supposed to have been inserted. It is equally possible, and the present author's contention, that no such corpus existed. In the following introduction, it will be argued that the initial purpose of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative

²⁰ C.f. §1.3.1 on the Shemihazah Narrative.

²¹ Had either of these fragments corresponded to one of the later strata of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative, then Newsom's hypothesis would have been incompatible with that of Dimant.

was radically revised by later redactors who added the chapters concerning Enoch in order to facilitate their revision. The major differences between the original purpose of the Narrative, and that of its subsequent revisions, relate to differing views concerning the mantic arts, the role of the elect in the eschaton and the fate of the gentile nations in the world to come.

§1.2 – Date of Composition

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As mentioned in the previous section, the fragments from Qumran provide a *terminus ad quem* for the final form of the Narrative as a whole, and its incorporation into the Book of Watchers. The fragments correspond to a large proportion of the Narrative, ranging from 1 Enoch 6:1 to 11:1.²² Included in this are sections from all the different strata identified in the Narrative.

The earliest of the Qumran Enoch manuscripts which contain 1 Enoch 6-11 is 4QEn^a, which Milik dated palaeographically to the first half of the second century BCE.²³ It appears that the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative had, by this period, been incorporated into the Book of Watchers and developed into its fullest form.²⁴ Milik goes on to state, however, that 4QEn^a was made from "a very old copy, dating from the third century at the very least".²⁵ This would push our *terminus ad quem* back accordingly.

The composite nature of 1 Enoch 6-11, coupled with a possible third century *terminus ad quem* for its final form within the Book of Watchers,

²² As will become apparent through the course of this study, a degree of scepticism regarding the identification of the Aramaic Enoch fragments is necessary - c.f. §2.1.4 & §2.7. This does not, however, alter our conclusions at this point.

²³ Milik (1976), 22, 140.

²⁴ Whether the whole Shemihazah and Asael Narrative was incorporated at once into the Book of Watchers, or whether only the core Shemihazah Narrative had been incorporated initially (as Newsom suggests), is yet to be resolved. At present we note simply that whichever scenario may have occurred, the development and position of 1 Enoch 6-11 was accomplished by the first half of the second century BCE.

²⁵ Milik (1976), 141.

implies that at least one of the constituents of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative may predate the third century.²⁶

Moving from palaeographic to literary-critical approaches, Hanson's analysis of the angelic-prayer section²⁷ leads him to conclude that the composer of the Narrative was a member of an oppressed group. Furthermore, the salvation-judgement oracle²⁸ causes him to postulate a scenario with a polarised community. Thus Hanson asserts that the third century was the period in which the first stratum was composed, and that it is the work of a sectarian apocalyptic movement comparable to the Essenes and the Hasidim.²⁹ Whilst Hanson's conclusions regarding the angelic-prayer section appear firm, his assessment of the salvation-judgement oracle is flawed because he considers it as a unitary composition, rather than as a composite work.³⁰ Furthermore, the third century and sectarian elements of his conclusion are neither necessary nor beyond doubt.

Apart from palaeographic and literary-critical approaches to dating 1 Enoch 6-11, other suggestions have been made which attempt to ally the content of the Narrative with historical events. Nickelsburg highlights two periods in which Palestine experienced the kind of upheaval that could stimulate the writing of the first stratum, the most likely being the Diadochi Wars (323-302 BCE) in which the land of Israel changed hands at least seven

²⁶ Michael Edward Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE" in *CBQ* 40 (1978), 479-92, 484.

²⁷ 1 Enoch 9:4-11 excluding verses 6 & 8c.

²⁸ 1 Enoch 10:11-11:2.

²⁹ Hanson (1977), 219-20.

times.³¹ Thus he tentatively suggests the end of the fourth century BCE.³² It is not certain, however, whether such wars between foreign powers would stimulate what is essentially a narrative about the evils of sexual immorality and divination. Moreover, the effect of the Diadochi Wars was more concentrated in Mesopotamia and Syria than in the land of Israel, and one doubts whether the consequences of these wars in Palestine would have stimulated such writing.

³⁰ C.f. §1.3 on the Restored Earth for a discussion on the composite nature of this section.

³¹ These wars followed the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE, and the subsequent division of his vast empire between his generals.

³² Nickelsburg (1977), 391. Collins disputes what he considers to be Nickelsburg's tentative speculation, concerning the date of composition, on the following grounds: Firstly, the assumed Palestinian provenance is by no means established. Collins does not consider Milik's observations on the provenance of the Book of Watchers to be conclusive, arguing that they only demonstrate Jewish authorship - c.f. Milik (1976), 25-7. Secondly, Collins highlights a number of studies which demonstrate that 1 Enoch 1-36 is familiar with Babylonian traditions thus showing that, although one cannot demonstrate Babylonian provenance, Palestinian provenance is not the only option. Thirdly, Collins notes that the author(s) purposefully avoided any reference to historical events/persons from any period. This demonstrates that the work was not written for a specific period, as a polemic concerning current events, but for a general sectarian world-view. The purpose is to warn of impending judgement to those not within the sect. Therefore, Collins asserts that it is wrong to assign a specific period to a text which could be just highlighting general problems in the Hellenistic Near East - c.f. Collins (1978), 320-1. Nickelsburg responded by asserting that the author of 1 Enoch 12-16 had a good knowledge of Galilean geography, which strongly implies Galilean provenance. Therefore, as 1 Enoch 6-11 is placed in the context of a passage with close Galilean connections, its provenance is likely to be Palestinian. Nickelsburg is not convinced of the suggested Babylonian parallels to which Collins referred, and notes that the author's treatment of the giants of the Genesis narrative merits such attempted explanations as his own - c.f. Nickelsburg (1978), 313-4.

§1.3 - The Structure of the Narrative

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As stated in §1.1, the composite nature of 1 Enoch 6-11 has long been recognised. Previous analyses of the Shemihazah and Asael Narrative have identified up to three strata, each with its own distinctive contribution to the sense of the narrative.³³

The present author considers 1 Enoch 6-11 to be made up of five distinct strata:

- the core Shemihazah Narrative (SN)
- the Angelic Instruction revision (AI)
- the Asael Narrative revision (AN)
- the Son of Lamech revision (SL)
- the Angelic Prayer (AP)

These strata are introduced in the following sections, but many of the distinguishing features are discussed in detail in the Commentary (§3). The following is designed to serve merely as an introduction to the various literary-critical issues associated with this narrative.

Before we introduce the different strata, we must first discuss the methodology by which these strata are determined. In a ground-breaking study on the eschatology of Jubilees, Davenport identifies a number of

³³ C.f. footnotes 2-6 above.

criteria for detecting strata.³⁴ The first of these is especially relevant for our investigation:

When certain parts of a narrative are based upon another known source, and when the other parts of this narrative which are not based upon this source form a distinct narrative, we may indeed have a synthesis between two distinct strata.³⁵

Other criteria, which may indicate distinct strata, include:

- the presence of a contradiction within the narrative, which may be due to the addition of a distinct strata
- the interruption of the flow of the narrative by a unit which may be considered distinct
- a sudden change in the structure of the narrative in a particular unit which may be considered distinct
- a repetition of an idea, phrase or even a whole passage in a way which introduces an element which is contrary to the first occurrence of this idea, phrase or passage.

These are the main criteria used in §3 to determine the strata of 1 Enoch 6-11.

³⁴ Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

³⁵ This has been paraphrased from Davenport (1971), 80.

§1.3.1 – The Shemihazah Narrative

It is generally agreed that the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11 is the Shemihazah Narrative (SN). Hanson defines the SN as an expository narrative³⁶ based upon Genesis 6:1-2,³⁷ which tells of the descent of the **בני אלהים** in order to choose human wives for themselves. This expository narrative defines the *sons of God* as being angels who descend to the earth with the intention of fornicating with human women. In doing this, the angels cut themselves off from their heavenly estate once and for all [1 Enoch 6:1-6].

The expository nature of the core stratum is confirmed by its subsequent use of Genesis 6:4, which underlies the account of the giant progeny of the union between the *sons of God* and the daughters of men. This giant progeny causes destruction upon the earth and the annihilation of humanity [1 Enoch 7:1-5]. This results in the cry of the earth and the spirits of the slain for the intervention of the Most High [1 Enoch 7:6; 8:4]. The Most High duly intervenes, pronouncing judgements upon both the angels who descended and their giant progeny [1 Enoch 10:9-15].

³⁶ Collins objects to this definition on the grounds that its meaning is unclear. Hanson's use of the term *expository* has too strong an association with the genre *midrash* which all agree is an unsuitable categorisation for the SN. For Collins, the difference between a text whose primary purpose is exegesis and a text which simply employs exegetical techniques is important. Hence Collins suggests *mythic narrative* as a possible definition of the genre of the SN – c.f. Collins (1978), 317. Hanson responded by defining the genre *expository narrative* as a “milieu where a mixture of features which were later to develop into these genres [i.e. midrash, apocalypse, targum and ethnographic history] are yet undifferentiated” – c.f. Hanson (1978), 308. C.f. Nickelsburg (1978), 312-3, who also sees 1 Enoch 6-11 as a narrative text which is both expository in method and a mixture of genres.

³⁷ It has been argued that the SN actually predates Genesis 6:1-4, and that the latter is dependent upon the former. This is discussed more fully, and rejected, in the Commentary to 1 Enoch 6:1.

Although chiefly based upon Genesis 6:1-2 & 4, the author appears to have drawn also upon the account of Absalom's rebellion against David as well as other literary devices.³⁸

The primary emphasis of this core stratum is upon the sexual nature of the transgression, the resulting devastation and defilement of the earth, and the punishment meted upon the fallen angels and their giant progeny.³⁹

Nickelsburg and Hanson agree in identifying the following references as comprising the core SN:⁴⁰

1 Enoch 6:1-7:1c; 7:2-6; 8:4-9:5; 9:7-8b; 9:9-11; 10:1-3; 10:11-11:2.

Dimant differs in that she considers 1 Enoch 8:4 as belonging to one of the later strata.⁴¹

The present author considers the following references to comprise the core SN:

1 Enoch 6:1-6; 7:1-6; 8:4; 10:9-14.⁴²

³⁸ C.f. for example the Commentary to 1 Enoch 6:6.

³⁹ Dimant considers 1 Enoch 6-11 to be the most ancient account of the fallen angels legend – c.f. Dimant (1978), 323. Later sources which refer to this story include 1Q23; 1QapGen 2:1-5, 16; 4QAmram^b 1:13; 4Q180-1; 4QEnGi^{a-f}; 6Q8; CD 2:17-21; Sir. 16:7; Jubilees 4-10.

⁴⁰ Hanson (1977), 197; Nickelsburg (1977), 384-6.

⁴¹ Dimant (1978), 323-6.

⁴² Thus the present author would dramatically shorten the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11. The reasons for this are explained through the course of this analysis and in the Commentary (§3). According to both Nickelsburg and Hanson, the main passage which deals with the punishment of the giants, 1 Enoch 10:9-10, is not part of the core SN. It is the opinion of the present author that these verses are part of the original SN because, coupled with the judgement pronounced upon the fallen angels, they tell of the punishment of the two groups of villains in the core SN.

§1.3.2 – The AN-Second Stratum Hypothesis

There are two main hypotheses concerning the later strata of 1 Enoch 6-11. The first, advanced by both Hanson and Nickelsburg, identifies the Asael Narrative (AN) as the second stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11.⁴³ The second, advanced by Dimant, identifies the Angelic Instruction (AI) revision as the second stratum. Hence according to Dimant, the AI revision precedes the AN revision.⁴⁴

The AN relates how the angel Asael brought illicit and destructive teachings to the inhabitants of the earth. These teachings involved the use of natural substances for illicit purposes. Thus mankind was taught metalwork, which enabled the production of weaponry and the spread of violence upon the earth. Furthermore, womankind was taught the use of make-up and jewellery, which led to fornication [1 Enoch 8:1-2].

In response to this illicit instruction, the Most High decrees that Asael is to be bound beneath the earth until the final judgement. At the final judgement, Asael is to be thrown into the fire [1 Enoch 10:4-6 & 8].

Hanson argues that the AN was not an independent work inserted into the SN, but an interpretative elaboration of the SN. According to Hanson, this elaboration was done through a comparison with the *Yom Kippur* festival of Leviticus 16, according to the same tradition which occurs in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. The purpose of this elaboration was to

⁴³ Hanson (1977), 226; Nickelsburg (1977), 386.

⁴⁴ This is discussed in more detail in §1.3.3.

demonstrate that sin cannot be purged by temple ritual alone and the necessity of divine intervention against evil spirits. For Hanson, both of these points demonstrate the sectarian background to the AN elaboration.⁴⁵

Nickelsburg opposes Hanson's elaboration hypothesis, arguing that the AN was the insertion of a later reviser who was influenced by Hellenistic myths, in particular the Prometheus myth.⁴⁶

These conflicting hypotheses differ on two points. Firstly, they differ on the sources of the traditions which underlie the text. Secondly, they differ on the nature of the growth of the text.

Regarding the sources, Nickelsburg is prone to observing Hellenistic parallels with 1 Enoch 6-11 and, hence, argues for Hellenistic influence upon the author of 1 Enoch 6-11. Hanson, on the other hand, observes ancient

⁴⁵ Hanson (1977), 220-6. As well as the scapegoat of Leviticus 16, Hanson also discusses other ancient Near Eastern parallels such as the Babylonian *akitu* festival, an Akkadian goat ritual and an Hittite ram ritual. A lengthy critique of Hanson's hypothesis is given by Lester L. Grabbe ["The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation" in *JSJ* XVIII (1987), 152-67]. C.f. especially Grabbe (1987), 153-5, in which he concludes that Hanson's suggestion that the AN was derived from Leviticus 16 is unlikely. One questions, however, if Grabbe's apparent misunderstanding of Hanson's hypothesis has led to this rather negative conclusion. Whereas Grabbe understands Hanson as suggesting that the AN is derived from, and hence related to, Leviticus 16 in the same way as the SN is to Genesis 6:1-4, the present author considers Hanson to be suggesting that the AN is an extension to the SN which was done according to a particular interpretative tradition of Leviticus 16. This understanding of Hanson's hypothesis would enable a far more sympathetic critique.

Grabbe has, evidently, misunderstood Hanson's comparison of the relationships between Leviticus 16 and the AN, on the one hand, and Genesis 6:1-4 and the SN, on the other. This comparison is made only in reference to the way in which, in 1 Enoch 6-11, the SN and AN both retrieve the mythic elements which are missing in their respective Biblical passages due to historicising tendencies. Hanson's comparison does not relate to the nature of the composition of the texts - c.f. Hanson (1977), 222; Grabbe (1987), 154 (especially note 6).

⁴⁶ Nickelsburg (1977), 399-404.

Near Eastern parallels and rejects the need to look to the West for the sources of 1 Enoch.⁴⁷

Collins, however, questions whether it is possible to discuss the identity of the underlying traditions on such an either-or basis. Not only was Hesiod known in the Hellenistic Near East, but the revival of ancient myths was also popular. Collins concludes that, as the author(s) of 1 Enoch 6-11 did not follow the sources rigidly, the text probably represents a combination of either Eastern or Western traditions, or motifs which were common to both.⁴⁸

Molenberg, however, concurring with M. L. West, suggests that such parallels do not necessarily express a relationship of dependency between the two literary traditions. Rather, it could be that the ancients who wrote them were similar in their “moral outlook and to some extent their forms of expression.”⁴⁹ For the purpose of this study, *moral outlook* may be understood as *world-view*, and *forms of expression* as *eschatological typology*.

⁴⁷ Nickelsburg [(1977), 395-6] highlights parallels between the SN and the *Titanomachia* [Hesiod's Theogony, 630-744] and *Gigantomachia* [Appollodorus' Library, 1.1-11.1]. For example, Nickelsburg suggests that a certain allusion to Hesiod's Theogony 675, 713-6, can be found at 1 Enoch 88:3. On the other hand, Hanson [(1977), 202-7] highlights such Near Eastern parallels as the Hurrian myths of *Kumarbi*, *Ullikummi* and *Illuyanka*, the Ugaritic myths of *Ashtar* and *Mot*, and the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*. This merits further investigation, especially in the light of remarks made by U. Cassuto in his discussion on the Ugaritic *El*, and his relation to the Hurrian *Kumarbi* and the Greek *Kronos*: “... the Greek myths about Kronos, and even such of their details as are deemed by students of Greek mythology to be a product of later Greek development, have their origin in Eastern countries.” C.f. U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* – English translation by Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971), 55-7.

⁴⁸ Collins (1978), 319-20. Collins contended that all areas of influence must be considered, and that Hanson's Semitic parallels do not make Nickelsburg's Western parallels obsolete. Collins rightly seems at pains to remove the question of sources from the question of the theological validity of the text, a problem which has dogged the study of the genre Apocalypticism. For Collins, the value of the text depends on its use of the sources, rather than the sources themselves.

⁴⁹ Molenberg (1984), 144; M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 27-8. West briefly discusses the question of Near Eastern influence on the content of Hesiod's

The Hellenistic parallels highlighted by Nickelsburg do not give a satisfactory explanation for the origins of the AN revision of 1 Enoch 6-11. The present author concurs with Hanson's observation that "the motifs of the Promethean legend came from the East, and are associated with the *apkallu* and Ea."⁵⁰ As such Greek parallels are based, at least in part, on Eastern sources anyway, the present author is more inclined to look East for the antecedents of 1 Enoch in general and the AN revision in particular.

As stated above, Hanson and Nickelsburg also disagree on the nature of the growth of 1 Enoch 6-11. Nickelsburg argues that the second stratum was a separate tradition, developed under the Hellenistic influences already noted, which was inserted into the core SN, while Hanson argues that it developed organically out of the SN under mainly Oriental influence.⁵¹

Molenberg, in keeping with her rejection of a relationship of dependency between the different literary traditions discussed by Hanson and Nickelsburg, also argues for an organic development of the AN, but one which was not to do with Leviticus 16 as Hanson suggested. Instead, it was

Works and Days, and notes that "many of Hesiod's principles and sentiments can be paralleled from oriental wisdom texts" - c.f. also Charles Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia: Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod* (London: Routledge, 1994). See especially the chapter on *Pandora, Prometheus and the Myths of Enki*, in which the striking parallels between Hesiod and the earlier Mesopotamian myths are discussed. Penglase concludes by stating that these parallels "strongly suggest that there is a direct connection between them, and that the Greek myth is a result of influence from Mesopotamia." This does not entirely contradict West, in his consideration of the importance of common perspective and outlook, as Penglase also notes that "the story that is told in the Greek material is obviously quite different from [the Mesopotamian myths] ... but the major underlying ideas and issues, and major elements, are essentially the same" - c.f. Penglase (1994), 228-9.

⁵⁰ I.e. Enki - c.f. Hanson (1978), 309.

⁵¹ Nickelsburg (1977), 403-4; Hanson (1977), 220 ff.

due to the changing circumstances, concerns and notions of sin of the people this work was disseminated amongst.⁵² Thus the earlier versions were a condemnation of sexual sin and impurity, to which later writers added similar condemnations of the occult, weapons and cosmetics.

⁵² Molenberg (1984), 145-6.

§1.3.3 – The AI-Second Stratum Hypothesis

Although Hanson and Nickelsburg differ on the underlying traditions and the nature of the growth of 1 Enoch 6-11, their identification of the strata of this narrative is virtually identical:

$$SN \rightarrow SN + AN \rightarrow [SN + AN] + AI$$

Thus the core SN was either elaborated with the AN (Hanson) or the AN was inserted into the SN (Nickelsburg). To this new composite unit was added the next stratum – the Angelic Instruction (AI) revision. Thus according to Nickelsburg, following the insertion of the AN, a third stratum was added in which the motif of instruction found in the AN was put into the core SN.⁵³

Dimant, however, provides an alternative analysis of the strata of 1 Enoch 6-11:

$$SN \rightarrow SN + AI \rightarrow [SN + AI] + AN$$

Thus, according to Dimant, the second stratum introduces the element of instruction distinct from the AN tradition, and then the AN was subsequently attracted into the SN + AI composite unit through their common instruction elements.

⁵³ Nickelsburg (1977), 384-6, 399-400.

Dimant notes that 1 Enoch 6-7 & 9 make up a cohesive narrative which is interrupted by the list of angels and teachings of chapter eight. Thus Dimant assumes that 1 Enoch 8 is a later insertion.⁵⁴

Dimant then analysis 1 Enoch 8 in detail, concluding that it is of a composite nature. Whilst 1 Enoch 8:3-4⁵⁵ deal briefly with each angel, giving just his name and teaching, 1 Enoch 8:1-2 are completely devoted to Asael and his eight teachings. Furthermore, whilst the teachings of the angels in 1 Enoch 8:3 are related linguistically to their names, the teachings of Asael appear to bear no relationship with his name at all. Thus Dimant divides 1 Enoch 8 into two strata – the AI stratum of 1 Enoch 8:3-4, and the AN stratum of 1 Enoch 8:1-2.⁵⁶

Regardless of the validity of the Dimant's assertion that in 1 Enoch 8:3 "we have another version of the list with Shemihazah as the first" (i.e. 1 Enoch 6:7), it is certainly conceivable that the AI-reviser selected some names from the list of Shemihazah's angelic comrades, and ascribed to each one the

⁵⁴ Dimant (1978), 323. Thus far, this line of argument is consistent with the analyses of Hanson and Nickelsburg discussed above.

⁵⁵ Although Dimant's arguments are concerned with 1 Enoch 8:3-4, the present author would prefer to limit her conclusions to 1 Enoch 8:3. The reasons for this are discussed below.

⁵⁶ Dimant (1978), 323-4. The distinction between the AI and the AN strata is also apparent in that the crafts taught by Shemihazah and his companions are occult crafts, whilst those taught by Asael are non-occult skills, such as metalwork, which are then misused by mankind. Furthermore, whilst the angels of the AI stratum are identified with those of the SN who sinned, Asael himself is not mentioned as sinning, rather he leads others into sin through his teachings. Dimant notes that this distinction, between the AI and the AN, is maintained throughout 1 Enoch (c.f. 1 Enoch 13:1-2/13:3 & 86:1/86:3) – c.f. Dimant (1978), 326-7, 335 (note 35).

teaching of a specific craft related to its name.⁵⁷ Dimant then suggests that the AN was later attracted into the SN + AI unit by the instruction motif which characterised the first revision of the narrative.⁵⁸

Whilst agreeing with the main thrust of Dimant's AI-second stratum hypothesis, this author is inclined to regard 1 Enoch 8:3, and not 1 Enoch 8:3-4, as the AI insertion, with 1 Enoch 8:4 being part of the original SN.⁵⁹ This hypothesis commends itself for two reasons. Firstly, the original narrative would then have described the complaint of the earth (1 Enoch 7:6), followed by the complaint of mankind (1 Enoch 8:4). This then brings the response of the archangels, who mention both the earth crying out (1 Enoch 9:2) and the lament of mankind (1 Enoch 9:3) as the reasons for their intercession before the Most High.⁶⁰ Secondly, the content of 1 Enoch 8:4, with its description of mankind's anguished lament, is consistent with the role of humanity as victims in the SN. The later revisions are less sympathetic to mankind⁶¹ and, as such, would probably not present their cry as a motivating force behind the Most High's response.

The present author considers the following references to comprise the AI stratum: 1 Enoch 6:7-8; 8:3; 10:7; 10:20-11:2.

⁵⁷ The present author, however, considers the first list in 1 Enoch 6:7 also to be part of the AI revision. The insertion of the list of twenty angelic leaders allows the construction of the subsequent passage which describes the teachings of some of those angels.

⁵⁸ Dimant (1978), 326-9. This is contrary to Nickelsburg's hypothesis, discussed above, in which the instruction motif found within the AN prompted the insertion of the AI stratum into the SN + AN unit.

⁵⁹ This concurs with both Hanson and Nickelsburg, although their hypotheses concerning the development of the strata differ as discussed above.

⁶⁰ Nickelsburg (1977), 384.

§1.3.4 – The *Son of Lamech* Revision

As discussed in §1.3.1, the core narrative is essentially based upon Genesis 6:1-2 & 4. These verses in Genesis have nothing to do with the following flood story.⁶²

As some point, however, an exegetical breakthrough was made in which the flood story was associated with the preceding *sons of God* unit. Thus the mingling of the *sons of God* with the *daughters of men* ceases to be a neutral act, as it appears in Genesis 6:1-4, and becomes a wicked act which is part of the rationale behind the deluge.⁶³

This association of Genesis 6:1-4 with the flood story underlies the *Son of Lamech* revision of 1 Enoch 6-11. This revision introduces aspects of the Biblical flood narrative into the *Watcher* story. The verses which comprise this revision are 1 Enoch 10:1-3 & 15-19.⁶⁴ The Noahic elements introduced in this revision include the deluge, the survival of one man and his seed to repopulate the earth and the motif of planting.

⁶¹ C.f. §1.4 which discusses the effects of the later revisions.

⁶² It is generally excepted that Genesis 6:1-4 forms a literary unit distinct from the following flood story of Genesis 6:5-8:19. Van Ruiten notes how all the Biblical allusions and references to the flood story make no connection whatsoever with the preceding story of the mingling of the *sons of God* with the *daughters of men*. C.f. J. Van Ruiten, "The Flood Story in the Book of Jubilees" in F. G. Martinez and G. P. Luttikhuisen (eds.), *Interpretations of the Flood* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 79-80.

⁶³ This line of exegesis is found in Jubilees 5 & 7, CD 2, Test. of Naph. 3, 3 Macc. 2 etc. – c.f. Van Ruiten (1998), 80-1.

⁶⁴ Both Hanson and Nickelsburg consider the *Son of Lamech* revision to be part of the core SN – c.f. Hanson (1977), 197; Nickelsburg (1977), 384. Molenberg follows suit – c.f. Molenberg (1984), 137. The problem with this view is that the Noahic elements are well defined and limited to two sections of the narrative – were they dispersed more evenly throughout 1 Enoch 6-11, there would be more credence to the view that they were originally part of the core narrative.

§1.3.5 – The Angelic Prayer

The final stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11 is the Angelic Prayer of chapter nine.⁶⁵

This prayer betrays the concerns of the authors as they change through the successive strata:

- SN sexual impurity (1 Enoch 9:8)
- AI mantic arts (1 Enoch 9:7)
- AN weaponry and cosmetics (1 Enoch 9:6)

It is interesting that the priorities of the author of this prayer are the reverse of the order of the strata as identified by the present author. Thus it appears that the author of this revision constructed the prayer with the later concerns uppermost in his mind, thus reducing the original concern of the narrative to the last mentioned.

The mention of all four archangels at the start of the chapter also implies that it was composed after the rest of the narrative as these archangels appear through successive strata.

⁶⁵ Previous analyses of this chapter have distributed it amongst the various strata already identified – c.f. Hanson (1977), 195; Nickelsburg (1977), 384; Molenberg (1984), 137. This is discussed further in the commentary.

§1.3.6 – Summary

The present author would divide 1 Enoch 6-11 into the following strata:⁶⁶

Core Stratum SN	First Stratum AI	Second Stratum AN	Third Stratum SL	Fourth Stratum AP
1 Enoch 6:1-6				
	1 Enoch 6:7-8			
1 Enoch 7:1-6				
		1 Enoch 8:1-2		
	1 Enoch 8:3			
1 Enoch 8:4				
				1 Enoch 9:1-11
			1 Enoch 10:1-3	
		1 Enoch 10:4-6		
	1 Enoch 10:7			
		1 Enoch 10:8		
1 Enoch 10:9-14				
			1 Enoch 10:15-19	
	1 Enoch 10:20 -11:2			

The above chart is not meant to reflect the order in which each stratum was added to the narrative, but simply the order in which the strata are identified and treated in this introduction.

Whilst we can be reasonably sure that the addition of the AI preceded the addition of the AN, and that the AP was added last of all, the placing of the SL is more problematic and cannot be established with certainty.

⁶⁶ The reasons for this particular division of 1 Enoch 6-11 are discussed through the commentary and the remainder of this introduction. This table is provided as an easy reference tool.

§1.4 – The Purpose of the Narrative

§1.4 – The Purpose of the Narrative

As the narrative is composite in nature, it is necessary to consider the purposes behind both the original core stratum and each subsequent revision. Furthermore, the context of the *Book of Watchers* which was built around 1 Enoch 6-11 must be considered as it alters the perspective of the narrative further.

§1.4.1 – The Watchers

In order to grasp the purpose of the core SN, it is imperative that we first come to terms with the principle characters of the narrative – the *Watchers*.

The Aramaic term עִיר (pl. עִירִין) occurs only three times in the Bible, all in the book of Daniel. It occurs in the singular twice (Daniel 4:10 & 20) and in the plural once (Daniel 4:14). In every case, it occurs in conjunction with the term קְרִישִׁין/קְרִישׁ. It is not certain from the text whether עִיר וקְרִישׁ and עִירִין וקְרִישִׁין are intended to refer to the same being, but this assumption appears to have received almost universal acceptance.⁶⁷

What is apparent from the ancient Bible translations is that the use of these phrases was problematic for translators:

⁶⁷ For example, Montgomery suggested that they refer to the same being, the *watcher* being ‘an importation from the current syncretistic religion’ with the addition of an ‘exegetical “and holy”, to secure the identification with the angelic category’ - c.f. James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1927), 231-2. Likewise Charles, noting the existence in Enochic literature of good and evil *watchers*, asserts that ‘there are not two heavenly beings who are referred to here but one

LXX	ἄγγελος	angel
Theodotion	ιρ (or ειρ) καὶ ἅγιος	‘ir and a holy one
Peshitta	ܒܠܬܐ ܡܫܬܪܥܐ	watcher and a holy one
Aquila/ Symmachus	ἐγρήγορος	watcher

The LXX translates עִיר וקָדִישׁ both times as ἄγγελος, choosing to merge the עִיר and the קָדִישׁ into one being. The merging aspect of the LXX’s interpretation is explicable - the עִיר and the קָדִישׁ could be understood as a couplet. What is more difficult to explain, however, is why the term ἄγγελος was used. Whilst it may be argued that the context implies that the being was an angel, the LXX’s identification of the עִיר וקָדִישׁ as an angel is still rather bold, perhaps attributable to the translators’ knowledge of the traditions extant in the *Book of Watchers*, which identifies the עִירִין as being fallen angels (see below).

Theodotion chooses to avoid the hazards of translation and simply gives ιρ (or ειρ) καὶ ἅγιος for עִיר וקָדִישׁ. Thus the structure of the Aramaic text is preserved and the problematic עִיר simply transliterated. Similarly, the Peshitta gives ܒܠܬܐ ܡܫܬܪܥܐ, although it is possible that the

only ... “the watcher and that a holy one” - c.f. R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 91.

Syriac ܠܫܬܐ was already a loaded term equated with watcher-angels.

Aquila and Symmachus both use ἐγγήγορος.

As mentioned above, the explanation of why the עִרְיִין were identified with angels by early translators is probably due to the *Book of Watchers*, in which one encounters the earliest explicit identification of the עִרְיִין with angels. This identification is not made in the Aramaic text of Daniel 4 and may not have been the original meaning. Thus prior to analysing the use of the term עִרְיִין in the *Book of Watchers*, we must first examine its use in Daniel 4, and attempt to discern its original intended meaning.

The context of the use of עִרְיִין in Daniel 4 is striking. Firstly, one notes that the passage is explicitly Babylonian in setting. Thus we should consider the narrative in its Babylonian context. Secondly, one notes that the narrative, like so much of the Book of Daniel, revolves around contrasting the God of Daniel with the gods of Babylon. This contrast is illustrated through the superior wisdom and mantic skills of Daniel with respect to the wise men of Babylon.

This contrast between the God of Daniel and the Babylonian pantheon is skilfully illustrated by the narrator. In Daniel 4:14, Nebuchadnezzar states that the omen is ‘by the decree of the *watchers* and the word of the holy ones’.⁶⁸ In verse twenty-one, however, Daniel contradicts the king, and states that ‘this is the decree of the Most High’. Thus Daniel’s point to the

king is that his fate is not determined by the *watchers* and *holy ones*, but by the Most High. Precisely who these עיריין and קדישין are, of whom one is described as descending with the omen, remains to be established. It is clear from the contrast described above, however, that they belong to the Babylonian omen system. They are not angels.⁶⁹ Nebuchadnezzar describes the omen being brought by one of them, and he affirms his belief that his fate has being determined by them.

Thus we are left to consider who the narrator is referring to by the term עיריין/עיר. This term is derived from the root עור which pertains to being awake/watchful. Although not cognate, the Akkadian root *barû* is related in meaning to the root עור, since *barû* also means *to watch over*.⁷⁰ From the root *barû*, the term *bārû* is derived, referring to the Babylonian diviner who engaged in haruspeology - the art of extracting an omen from animal organs. The *bārû* was known especially for extispicy - reading omens from the liver of a sacrificial sheep.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Quoted according to the American Jewish Version. See below, however, where this phrase is discussed in more detail.

⁶⁹ Contrary to the current consensus - c.f. for example John J. Collins, "Watcher" in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden 1995), 1681-5.

⁷⁰ Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD) B, 115-8.

⁷¹ CAD B, 121-5. For detailed discussions on the *bārû*, c.f. Ivan Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (Malibu: 1983); Ulla Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy: Omen Texts in the British Museum* (Leiden: 1989); Ivan Starr, *Queries to the Sungod* (Helsinki: 1990). VanderKam discusses Mesopotamian divination, in particular the *bārû*, at length - c.f. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington: CBQMS 16, 1984), 52-62. According to VanderKam's hypothesis, Enoch is the Jewish version of the mythological seventh antediluvian king *Enmeduranki*. A text published by Lambert tells how *Enmeduranki*, king of Sippar, was taught various methods of divination by Šamaš and Adad, which he in turn taught to the men of Sippar, Nippur and Babylon - c.f. W. G. Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters" in *JCS* 21 (1967), 126-138, 127. In the course of his excellent analysis of 1

The highest position which a *bārû* could attain within his profession was that of court diviner. Such a position would involve administrative and diplomatic duties.⁷² This is of particular interest for our investigation which concerns divination in the royal court.

Also of interest is the status afforded the practise of extispicy in relation to other mantic methods such as the observation of astronomical phenomena and the interpretation of dreams. The latter methods were considered to be somewhat insecure and in need of confirmation by the more secure method of extispicy. It is for this reason, as Starr notes, that the dream interpreter and the *bārû* often appear together.⁷³ This again relates to our investigation of Daniel 4 which concerns the *bārû* and dream interpretation.

Thus we are left with the prospect of identifying the עֹר with the *bārû*. This would lead us to conclude that the narrator of Daniel 4 was not referring to angels, but to the receiving or confirmation of an omen by one particular *bārû* priest. In order to do this, the narrator is faced with the problem of translating the Akkadian *bārû*, but with having no suitable cognate root. Thus he translated *bārû* into עֹר.

This identification of עֹר with *bārû* appears to be confirmed when analysed in reference to Daniel 4:14 -

Enoch 1-36, however, VanderKam fails to identify the *Watchers* with the *bārû* (c.f. especially VanderKam (1984), 110, note 1). Such an identification would help to explain why 1 Enoch 6-11 contradicts the rest of the *Book of Watchers* in its attitude towards the mantic arts.

⁷² Jeyes (1989), 16.

⁷³ Starr (1990), 7.

בנזרת עירין פתנמא ומאמר קדישין שאלתא ...

The message is in the cutting of the *watchers*,

and the word of the priests is the dream portent ...

This verse is brimming with mantic terminology. From the root נזר - *to cut*, come the נזירין - *the soothsayers* (c.f. Daniel 2:27; 4:4; 5:7 & 11). The root נזר - *to cut* was used because they would cut open animals and inspect their internal organs in order to find the omen. Thus it is possible that the term נזרת, as used in Daniel 4:14, is to be understood as being what is determined by mantic arts specifically through cutting. This understanding of the root נזר and the noun נזרת coincides with the Akkadian use of the root *parāsu* which also means *to cut/divide*. From the root *parāsu*, the noun *purussû* is derived which, although literally meaning *cutting*, has the meaning *decision* or an *oracular answer*. Thus the first stanza of the above phrase would mean 'the message (i.e. omen) is in the oracle (lit. cutting for the purpose of confirming the message by mantic arts) of the *watchers* (i.e. the *bārû*)'.

Furthermore, the word שאלתא is also a mantic term, being related to the Akkadian *šā'ilu* - a dream interpreter. Thus the pairing of the *bārû* with the method of dream interpretation, as discussed above, occurs in Daniel 4:14.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The pairing of the roots נזר and שאל appears to have been preserved in mantic use over a number of centuries. C.f., for example, James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: 1913), 146, text 7, line 13. Montgomery sought to explain this line by

What of the identity of the קדישין? From the description of one of the קדישין descending from heaven (see below), this could refer to the Babylonian pantheon. This is unlikely, however, as the Babylonians never refer to their gods in this way. Instead, they used the term *qadištu* to refer to a class of priestess set apart for temple service.⁷⁵ Thus whilst the first stanza tells how the omen was confirmed - by a *watcher*, the second tells who received it - it was a *saying of the holy ones*, the priests.⁷⁶

This leaves the question as to why the עיר וקדיש, who we identify with a *bārû* priest and a temple priestess, are pictured as having descended from heaven.

Daniel 4:

... ואלו עיר וקדיש מן-שמיא נחת: v. 10

... and behold a watcher and a holy one from heaven descended.

... חזה מלכא עיר וקדיש נחת מן-שמיא ... v. 20

... the king saw a watcher and a holy one descended from heaven.

tracing the nouns back to the Akkadian *muštâlu* and *bārû muštâlu*, which he translated as *oracle giving seer*.

⁷⁵ CAD Q, 48-50.

⁷⁶ The problem here is the discrepancy between the feminine *qadištu* and the masculine קדישין, but this does not invalidate the hypothesis. There are a number of possible explanations for this change in gender. The change may have been accidental, due to the writer's lack of knowledge of the Babylonian mantic system or a later textual alteration. Alternatively, it may have been intentional, as references to mantic priests may have been a bit more palatable than references to mantic priestesses.

The answer to this is given, in part, by the text published by Lambert which describes the *bārû* as 'an expert in oil, of abiding descent, offspring of Enmeduranki ...'.⁷⁷ The *bārû* were considered to be descended from Enmeduranki, the legendary king of Sippar who was brought up to heaven into the presence of Šamaš to receive instruction in the mantic arts. Thus it was held that the mantic arts descended from heaven,⁷⁸ and those who practised them were referred to as being *of abiding descent* of the one who first received them - Enmeduranki.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Lambert (1967), 132. This phrase is rather obscure and a precise explanation remains elusive. It is possible, however, that the imprecise nature of the phrase underlies the use of *descended from heaven* in Daniel 4.

⁷⁸ The same idea occurs in reference to *kingship* which is also stated to have descended from heaven - c.f. Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago 1963), 328-31. What is of more importance to our present enquiry, however, is the fact that the same descent of the mantic arts from heaven also occurs in our Enoch narrative.

⁷⁹ Lambert (1967), 127.

§1.4.2 The Purpose of the SN

We must now consider how such an understanding of the עיריין helps us explain the purpose of the core SN of 1 Enoch 6-11.

The first thing which strikes us when we read the core stratum of the narrative is that it contradicts the Bible in two obvious ways. Firstly, in Genesis, mankind is the object of God's wrath in the Flood narrative, whilst in our Enoch passage, it is the Watchers and the giants who are the object of God's wrath, and mankind is their victim.⁸⁰ Thus the role of mankind is changed from judged sinner to victim. Furthermore, in Genesis, the descent of the sons of God, and the birth of the giants, is a neutral event just mentioned with no further comment. Thus it is not presented as a negative event, whereas in the Enoch narrative, it is most certainly a negative event worthy of God's unbridled wrath.⁸¹

These contradictions have never been satisfactorily explained - they have just been observed as an interesting feature of 1 Enoch 6-11.⁸² But these contradictions may provide an insight into the purpose of the author - was the author making a specific point by such a startling deviance from the Biblical account?

⁸⁰ Nickelsburg (1977), 386-8.

⁸¹ VanderKam (1984), 125-6.

⁸² For example, in reference to the contradiction regarding the mixing of the *sons of God* with the daughters of men and the subsequent birth of the giants, VanderKam simply observes that one result of the negative account in 1 Enoch 6-11 is to 'cast a negative light on the crafts and arts - the secrets - which the angels revealed' - c.f. VanderKam (1984), 126. Nickelsburg offers no explanation for the contradiction concerning the roles of humanity and the angels.

We can shed light on this problem by examining another contradiction between the Enoch narrative and the Bible, this time regarding the mantic arts - divination.⁸³

Whilst divination is condemned in the Torah, particularly in Deuteronomy 18:10-14, a slightly different attitude can be discerned in the books of Genesis and Daniel, in the Joseph and Daniel narratives.⁸⁴

In Genesis 41, Joseph is able to interpret the two dreams of Pharaoh, a feat which all the magicians and wise men of Egypt were unable to do. Furthermore, in Genesis 44:5, Joseph himself mentions the cup which he uses for divining.⁸⁵ Similarly, in Daniel 2, Daniel can tell and interpret the dream of the great statue. In chapter four, Daniel can interpret the dream of the tree when the other wise men cannot. In chapter five, Daniel can interpret the writing on the wall. In each of these occurrences, Daniel explains an omen to the king, while the rest of the wise men of Babylon are unable to do likewise.

What is interesting about these narratives, particularly the Daniel narrative, is that the narrator is not antagonistic towards the mantic arts - rather, the point of the Daniel narrative is that the wisdom of Daniel's God

⁸³ C.f. VanderKam (1984), 71-5. This section, entitled 'Divination in the Old Testament', gives an excellent account of the issues discussed below.

⁸⁴ VanderKam observes that the Hebrew Bible's anti-divination passages are especially found in the prophetic literature of the exilic period, and concludes that the conflict was between Jewish prophecy and the divination of the pagans the Jews found themselves amongst - c.f. VanderKam (1984), 71-3.

⁸⁵ VanderKam (1984), 74.

enables Daniel to employ these arts better than his contemporaries (c.f. Daniel 2:20, 47; 4:3-5; 5:11-12, 14-16).⁸⁶

This contrasts greatly with 1 Enoch 6-11 which condemns outright the practise of the mantic arts. This is done by asserting that such skills were given to humanity by the wicked angels who, by mixing with humanity, brought upon the earth all of the ills which now afflict it (c.f. 1 Enoch 9:6-8).

This contrast in attitude to the mantic arts between the Daniel/Joseph and Enoch narratives, coupled with our previous conclusions regarding the Aramaic term עִירִין, may enable us to discern one of the reasons for the composition of the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11.

The present author suggests the following scenario. The author of the core SN is seeking to present a condemnation of the mantic arts, in order to contradict an apparent positive attitude to divination in such accounts as the Joseph and Daniel narratives.

He does so using the Genesis narrative about the *sons of God* and adds to the Genesis narrative the negative aspect of their descent, and makes his anti-divination point by stating that it was the *sons of God* who taught the mantic arts to mankind thus bringing evil to the earth. In order to identify his opponents specifically, and to leave no ambiguity as to who he is condemning, he adds to his manipulation of the Genesis narrative a key

⁸⁶ For Daniel's role as a mantic sage, and the relationship between Jewish apocalyptic literature and mantic wisdom, c.f. H. P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik" in *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971* (VT Supplement 22, Leiden 1972), 268-93. VanderKam also discusses other mantic methods such as the ephod and the *urîm* and *tummîm*, and how the

element in the Daniel narrator's presentation of the Babylonian omen system - the עִירִין / *bārû*.

In the SN narrator's polemic, the only ones who survive God's wrath are those pure from contamination with the *Watchers* - i.e. those who have not engaged in divination.

One needs to consider why the author of the SN chose to write an anti-divination polemic based upon Genesis 6. One answer might be that the Genesis narrative is unique in detailing the crossing of the boundaries between the terrestrial realm and the divine realm - the natural and the supernatural - a key aspect to divination.⁸⁷ Thus the use of Genesis 6 in relation to divination is certainly understandable.

Thus the SN is a polemic against the mantic arts, which uses the Genesis narrative as its foundation. In order to appreciate the depth of this polemic, we have to revise our understanding of who Daniel's עִירִין are - they are not angels, but part of the Babylonian mantic system. Using the narrative of the angels who transgressed the boundary between the supernatural and natural realms, and stating that it was they who taught divination, the identification of this group with the עִירִין of Daniel serves to emphasise that it is Babylonian mantic practice which is being condemned.

method of dream interpretation continued after the others ceased - c.f. VanderKam (1984), 74.

⁸⁷ Hanson discusses how the element of the transgressing of the boundaries between heaven and earth was built upon the foundation of the Genesis narrative by the Enochic author - c.f. Hanson (1977), 198-9.

This interpretation of the core SN appears to be supported by the subsequent use of the name of the central character – Shemihazah. Montgomery highlighted the use of this name in a Mesopotamian incantation bowl dating from the pre-Islamic era.⁸⁸ The relevant line reads *and sealed by the seal of Semhayzah* - שִׁמְחִיזָא. The magical context in which the name of Shemihazah is invoked is itself striking and could hint at a possible reason for its use by the author of the core SN.

But it was not simply the name of the head angel which persevered in magical circles. The toponym Mount Hermon also occurs in another incantation bowl, in a direct reference to the actions of the angels in 1 Enoch 6:5-6:⁸⁹

מַחִיתָנָא עַל־כּוֹן שְׁמַתָּא וְנִירְתָּא וְאַחֲרַמְתָּא דְּאִיתְנַח עַל חֵרְמוֹן טוֹרָא ...

*I am bringing down upon you the curse, the proscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon ...*⁹⁰

⁸⁸ James A. Montgomery, "A Magical Bowl-text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans" in *JAOS* 32 (1912), 434-8.

⁸⁹ James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls from Nippur* (Philadelphia: 1913), 121 & 126.

⁹⁰ C.f. the *Commentary* to 1 Enoch 6:3 for a discussion of the meaning of the name *Shemihazah* with reference to the *divine mountain*.

§1.4.3 The Purpose of the AI-Revision

The motive behind the AI-revision may be discerned by noting the effect this revision had upon the original SN. One effect of the incorporation of the AI stratum was to introduce into the SN an aspect which was hitherto missing, namely the sinfulness of mankind.⁹¹

This places the story in the context of the deluge and the destruction of mankind.⁹² As discussed in the previous sections, the SN narrates the descent of the angels and their sin upon the earth. Humanity, rather than being cast as participators in their crimes, is cast as their victims. Thus the SN, when considered as an isolated narrative, contradicts the Biblical flood story.

The AI stratum changes this by introducing the sin of mankind, albeit due to the teachings of the angels, and hence giving the reason for the deluge. The contradiction between the core SN and the Genesis account of the deluge is hence removed.

Whereas the SN was nothing to do with the story of Noah, being simply an expository narrative based upon Genesis 6:1-4, the introduction of

⁹¹ Newsom argues that the element of the sinfulness of mankind is introduced by the AN stratum, and that it does not occur in the AI stratum – c.f. Newsom (1980), 314. It is the opinion of the present author that the collaboration of mankind in the sin of the angels does occur in the SN+AI stage. This is the natural implication of the text when it describes the angels teaching occult practices to the inhabitants of the earth. Whereas Newsom understands the AN as introducing the sinfulness of mankind, the present author considers the AN to be introducing a more startling element, namely that mankind is responsible for the fall of the angels. This is discussed further below.

⁹² Dimant (1978), 326.

the AI stratum placed the new SN+AI narrative into a Noahic context. For this reason, the AI-revision can also be described as a Noahic revision.

Newsom, having argued that only the core SN was originally incorporated into the Enochic corpus, suggests that the inspiration for the addition of the AI stratum to the SN may have been the euhemeristic traditions which occur within the Enochic corpus itself, particularly in relation to the person of Enoch.⁹³ The problem with this explanation for the insertion of the AI stratum is that the core SN has nothing to do with the character Enoch, and the AI-revision is more related to traditions concerning Noah. Thus there is no Enochic context to suggest this hypothesis. It is more probable that the completed narrative was built into an Enochic context because of its euhemeristic theme.⁹⁴

⁹³ Newsom (1980), 319-20.

⁹⁴ Whilst Newsom's hypothesis concerning the development of the AI and AN strata within the broader Enochic context certainly merits consideration, her explanation of how the person of Enoch inspired the euhemeristic elements of the AI and AN strata appears weak. Newsom relates the astrological and other mantic teachings of Shemihazah and his companions to the association between Enoch and astrology, and the references in 1 Enoch 12-16 concerning evil spirits and disease. The teachings are the AN are related to by Newsom to Enoch's reputation as a sage – c.f. Newsom (1980), 319-21. As previously discussed, Nickelsburg suggests a Hellenistic derivation for these euhemeristic elements, whilst Hanson highlighted a series of ancient Near Eastern parallels – c.f. Hanson (1977), 226-7; Nickelsburg (1977), 399 ff. The present author would tend towards Hanson's view, considering Newsom's explanation too specific and Nickelsburg's too remote.

§1.4.4 The Purpose of the AN-Revision

Whilst the insertion of the AI stratum into the SN introduced the element of the sinfulness of mankind to accompany the sinfulness of Shemihazah and his angels, the addition of the AN stratum yet again introduces a new element, namely the sinfulness of mankind being responsible for the sin of Shemihazah and his angelic companions. At the heart of this revision is one of the most problematic issues faced by monotheism – the origin of evil. Placed in the wider context of inter-testamental Jewish attempts to solve this problem, the purpose of the AN-revision becomes clear.

Asael, in teaching skills such as metalwork and cosmetics, enables human women to adorn themselves and seduce the angels. This interpretation of the AN-revision suggests itself for a number of reasons. Firstly, this is how the composer of the Animal Apocalypse, who based his later composition on 1 Enoch 6-11, understood it. Secondly, this interpretation appears to have allowed the writer of Jubilees to separate the descent of the angels to the earth, for noble purposes, from their seduction by human women – c.f. Jubilees 4:15 & 5:1.⁹⁵

The incorporation of the AN into the SN+AI narrative serves to modify the text, shifting the initial blame away from Shemihazah and his companions to mankind. The ultimate responsibility, however, rests with

⁹⁵ Nickelsburg (1977), 398.

Asael who taught mankind the skills necessary to seduce the angels.⁹⁶ Thus it is not surprising that Asael later came to be identified with Satan – the tempter who causes others to sin.⁹⁷

The reason why this transferring of blame may have been deemed necessary could relate to the embarrassing implication of the SN+AI narrative, namely that angels in their holy estate are able to devise sin within themselves. This idea has the problematic corollary that they were created imperfect by the Most High. The AN-revision removes this challenge to the sovereignty and righteousness of the Most High by positing blame with mankind for misusing the skills taught by Asael.

Blame is not placed exclusively upon mankind, however, as Asael is ultimately considered responsible for the consequences of the skills he revealed to mankind. This is made clear in 1 Enoch 10:8 which states:

And all the earth has been made desolate through the teaching of the work of Azazel, and against him register all sin.

This prompts one to question how shifting the blame from a group of angels to one specific angel solves the problem of attributing imperfection or evil to the Most High. For this AN-revision to be a proper solution to this problem,

⁹⁶ Contra Newsom who asserts that it was the angels who seduced the human women – c.f. Newsom (1980), 314 & 321.

⁹⁷ Grabbe (1987) considers how the scapegoat became associated with Satan in Jewish exegesis. He does this through a brief analysis of 1 Enoch, the Book of Giants, the Apocalypse of Abraham and the Mishnaic tractate Yoma. Grabbe concludes that whilst Christian exegesis associated the scapegoat with Christ, there are still hints of the Jewish exegetical tradition in the New Testament book of Revelation.

it would have to be made within the context of a well defined hamartiology, based upon an essentially dualistic world-view, the like of which is exhibited in the sectarian Qumran literature.⁹⁸ In this literature, the leader of the forces of darkness, often Belial, was considered to have been created for the role of adversary of the forces of light. Thus the *War Scroll* states:

*And the Prince of Light thou hast appointed from ancient times to come to our support ... But Belial, the Angel of Malevolence, thou hast created for the Pit; his rule is in darkness and his purpose is to bring about wickedness and iniquity.*⁹⁹

Thus Belial's purpose, as appointed by the Most High, was to lead others into iniquity. Upon completion of this purpose, he was to be cast into the Pit.

It is possible that Asael's role was considered to be along the same lines. Asael, the tempter, was given the purpose of leading others into iniquity. Mankind's sin was to follow after Asael and subsequently seduce the angels from their holy estate. Viewed in this hamartiological context, the AN-revision absolves the angels of absolute or ultimate responsibility whilst, at the same time, not compromising either the sovereignty or righteousness of the Most High.

⁹⁸ For detailed discussions concerning the world-view and hamartiology of the sectarian Qumran literature, c.f. Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 60-2; John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 99-106.

⁹⁹ 1QM XIII, 10-11. Quoted from Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 177.

It is interesting to note that this AN-revision conforms to the general trend in both Jewish and Christian exegesis of Genesis 6:1-4, which sought to remove blame for the sinfulness of humanity away from the angels and to mankind:¹⁰⁰

Stage One	e.g. the SN	Blame ascribed to angels who descend to earth with sinful intent.
Stage Two	e.g. Jubilees 4:15 & 5:1	Angels descend to earth to instruct humanity in righteousness, but are seduced by the human women.
Stage Three	e.g. Julius Africanus	The <i>Sons of God</i> are not angels but are the progeny of Seth, and the <i>daughters of man</i> are the progeny of Cain. Thus the angelic element is removed altogether.

¹⁰⁰ This is discussed in more detail in Reeves (1992), 185-9 & 199 (notes 2-3). For the possible Jewish origins of this particular exegetical development, c.f. G. A. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 126-34. For its use in Christian sources, c.f. A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 41-80.

§1.4.5 The Purpose of the SL-Revision

The SL-reviser is concerned with the eschatological solution of the present world's ills. Faced with the challenge posed to the Most High's sovereignty by the prevailing unrighteousness, the SL-reviser constructs a typological exegesis based upon the Genesis flood account in order to show how the situation will be resolved in the eschaton.

This typology has several aspects. Firstly, there is a simple typology in which humanity is divided into the righteous and the wicked. The former are represented typologically by the *Son of Lamech*, to whom the first archangel is sent to instruct on how to escape the coming judgement. The latter are represented by the rebellious angels and their giant progeny who are doomed to judgement.¹⁰¹

There is, however, a second, more complex, aspect to this typology which has caused a certain degree of debate. Nickelsburg asserts that it is a simple *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology in which the deluge, and the following restoration of the earth under the Noahic covenant, were considered prototypes of that which is to come.¹⁰² On the other hand, Hanson suggested a different typological model, arguing that rather than presenting a repetition of primeval events, 1 Enoch 6-11 was understood as an allegory

¹⁰¹ Molenberg (1984), 140-1.

¹⁰² Nickelsburg (1977), 388.

in which history is condensed into the primeval period, and whose interpretation relates to the deluge to come.¹⁰³

Thus the story of Noah is used to illustrate the whole of human history, with the present situation of the author being placed into the period between the rebellion of the angels and the blessing of the Noahic covenant which was bestowed upon those who escaped the judgement of the flood. The flood then becomes a type of the judgement to come, and the blessing bestowed upon the righteous who survived it is a type of the blessing yet to be received by the righteous of the author's day.¹⁰⁴

According to Nickelsburg's understanding of the typology of 1 Enoch 6-11, what was promised and fulfilled in Noah's day will be repeated, whilst according to Hanson, what was promised to Noah was considered yet to be fulfilled. It certainly does appear that the model suggested by Hanson is the more likely because it is improbable that Noah would have been considered to have experienced the fulfilment of the grand descriptions of the eschaton contained in 1 Enoch 10:15-19.

Using such typological methods, the author of the SL-revision furnished the reader with the following principle. In order to avoid the coming judgement, one must receive instruction and adhere to it. Thus the instruction given by the first archangel [1 Enoch 10:3] is a type of the true way. In the Genesis narrative, the instruction given to Noah concerns the

¹⁰³ Hanson (1977), 201.

¹⁰⁴ Hanson (1977), 201-2.

construction of the ark by which the chosen can escape judgement. The implication of the SL-revision is that the ark is a type of the specific body of instruction accepted by the SL-reviser. Acceptance of this instruction is the revealed method of escaping the imminent judgement.

From this, one can see that the primary perspective of 1 Enoch 6-11, in its final form, is eschatological,¹⁰⁵ and its exegesis, being based upon the story of Noah, is typological in method.¹⁰⁶ The world-view of the author is very negative, with the present world perceived as being wrecked and filled with corruption. The only solution is a future divine intervention.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Contra Stone (1978), 487.

¹⁰⁶ The following section of the *Book of Watchers*, 1 Enoch 12-16, narrates the petitions of the giants. It does not appear to have the same typological method and eschatological perspective as 1 Enoch 6-11. This is another clue to the original independence of these chapters.

¹⁰⁷ In 1 Enoch 6-11, this divine intervention is effected through angels at the command of the Most High.

§1.4.6 The Restored Earth

The description of the future restored earth, in 1 Enoch 6-11, has two distinct units, both of which begin with the cleansing of the earth:

SL stratum

Unit One - 1 Enoch 10:15-19

All evil is removed from the earth

- 1 Enoch 10:15-16a

The *Plant of Righteousness and Truth*

- 1 Enoch 10:16b

The future paradisiacal state of the earth

- 1 Enoch 10:17-19

AI stratum

Unit Two - 1 Enoch 10:20-11:2

The earth is cleansed

- 1 Enoch 10: 20

All the nations serve the true God and there is no more judgement

- 1 Enoch 10:21-22

The future paradisiacal state of the earth

- 1 Enoch 11:1-2

The scenarios which follow the purifying of the earth, however, differ greatly. The first unit has a paradise in which the *plant of righteousness and truth*¹⁰⁸ enjoys the fullness of the restored earth, whereas the second unit has a paradise in which *all the nations* worship the Most High. This suggests once again that the narrative is composite in nature as the eschaton of the *plant* is rather different to that of *all the nations*.

¹⁰⁸ 1 Enoch 10:16 - c.f. 1 Enoch 10:3.

The Motif of the Plant¹⁰⁹

The Qumran fragment 4QEnc^{1v} gives the Aramaic for this motif in 1 Enoch 10:16 as **נצבת קושטא** - *the plant of truth*.¹¹⁰ The motif of the *plant* also occurs in 1 Enoch 93:2, which reads:

Concerning the children of righteousness and the eternal elect

*Sprung from the plant of righteousness and uprightness ...*¹¹¹

Already from this reference, it is clear that the motif of the *plant* is related to the notion of election.¹¹² Qumran fragment 4QEn⁸¹ⁱⁱⁱ gives a very clear reading for part of this as **מן נצבת יצבת** - *from the plant of truth* ¹¹³. Thus we may conclude that the Aramaic **נצבת** was the word used in expressing the motif of the *plant* in 1 Enoch.

The use of the term **נצבת** is best understood in the context of the use of the Hebrew **מטעה** [c.f. footnote 108]. That the Aramaic root **נצב** is equivalent to the Hebrew root **נמץ** is demonstrated by its use in Targum

¹⁰⁹ Any discussion of this motif must take into account the study of the Hebrew term **מטעה** performed by Shozo Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period" in *JSJ* VII 1 (1978), 30-45. Fujita notes the use of this specific terminology in the Hebrew Bible [Ex. 15:17; Num. 24:6; 2 Sam. 7:10; Is. 5:7; Jer. 2:21; 11:16f; 12:2; 24:6; 31:28; 32:41; 42:10; Ez. 17:3-10; Ps. 44:3; 80:9f] and how it relates specifically to Israel's salvation-history, God's blessings upon His chosen people and their restoration from exile in Babylon. Furthermore, the messianic and, hence, eschatological tenets of this terminology are noted. Fujita then traces the continued use of this terminology in the intertestamental period and how it relates to the righteous elect among Israel. Some of Fujita's references are discussed below, in particular those found in the literature of Qumran.

¹¹⁰ Milik (1977), 189-90, 348, plate XI. C.f. also the notes to 1 Enoch 10:3 & 16.

¹¹¹ Translation from Black (1985).

¹¹² Fujita (1978), 34.

¹¹³ Milik (1977), 263, 361, plate XXII. The Aramaic for this motif in 1 Enoch 93:1-10 is not as clear from 4QEn^{8 I iv} - c.f. Milik (1977), 265, 361, plate XXII.

Jonathan, the Palestinian Aramaic translation of the Prophets. For example, the Targum of Micah 1:6 gives נצבת כרם for the Hebrew למטעי כרם.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the Targum of Job 14:8 gives יסוף נצביה/נצבה for the Hebrew ועשה קשיר כמו-נטע.¹¹⁵

Again, as with the use of the Aramaic root נצב, the Hebrew root נטע is also used in relation to the elect when discussing the motif of the *plant*. This certainly appears to be its use in much of the literature found at Qumran. For example, the Community Rule contains two references to an *eternal planting* - למטעת עלום.¹¹⁶ In the context of the giving of hidden secrets and knowledge to the chosen, 1QS 11:7-9 reads:

לאשר בחר אל נתנם לאוחות עולם וינחילים בגורל קדושים ועם בני שמים
חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם עם כול קץ נהיה .

*God has given them to His chosen ones as an everlasting possession,
and has caused them to inherit the lot of the Holy Ones.
He has joined their assembly to the Sons of Heaven
to be a Council of the Community, a foundation of the Building of Holiness,
and eternal planting throughout all ages to come.*¹¹⁷

Again, in the Thanksgiving Hymns, the terminology of the *plant* is associated with the elect. Both 1QH 6:15 and 8:6 also use the phrase מטעת עלום.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. III. - the Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 440.

¹¹⁵ David M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job. An Introduction and Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 94*.

¹¹⁶ 1QS 8:5 & 11:8. C.f. Millar Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Vol. II - Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: ASOR, 1951), plates VIII & XI.

1QH 6:15 is similar in context to 1QS 11, both of which are concerned with the elect who, having been separated from the rest of humanity, are promised the fellowship of angels. Hence 1QH 6:14-15 reads:

והם ישובו במי כבודכה ויהיו שריכה בגורל [... פרה בצין שדה ע]ד
עולם לגדל נצר לעופי מטעת עולם .

They shall reply according to Thy glorious word and shall be Thy princes in the company [of the Angels].

They shall send out a bud [for] ever like a flower [of the fields], and shall cause a shoot to grow into the boughs of an everlasting plant.¹¹⁹

Similarly, 1QH 8 speaks of the preservation of the *plant* against a background of drought. Elsewhere in 1QH 8, the *everlasting plant* of line 6 is spoken of as a *מטעת אמת* - *a plant of truth* [line 10] and as a *מטע פרי* - *a fruitful plant* [line 20].¹²⁰ In all of these references, the *plant* is associated with the elect.

Another good example of the use of this terminology for the elect, even the elect amongst Israel, is found in the Exhortation at the beginning of the Damascus Document. This Exhortation speaks of a *שורש מטעת* - *a root of planting*, which is contrasted with the rest of Israel whose treachery caused them to be punished by God¹²¹.

¹¹⁷ Translation taken from Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 115. The *eternal plantation* is also associated with the elect Council of the Community in 1QS 8:5 ff. - c.f. Vermes (1997), 109.

¹¹⁸ E. L. Sukenik, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), cols. 6 & 8, plates 40 & 42. The sections of the hymns contained in these plates contain a number of references to the *מטע*, some of which are discussed here.

¹¹⁹ Vermes (1997), 272.

¹²⁰ Sukenik (1955), col. 8, plate 42.

¹²¹ James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Vol. 2 - Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1995), 12-13. Qumran fragment 4Q266 2 i, lines 11-12 give the reading *מטע* [עט]

The contrast between the righteous elect and the wicked is again made in the fourteenth Psalm of Solomon. The terminology here is interesting as the earliest extant versions of the Psalms of Solomon are in Greek translations of what was probably an original Hebrew. Whilst the rest of humanity is condemned to punishment in *Sheol*, the elect are likened to trees whose planting is rooted forever.¹²² The terminology used in this Greek translation compares well with that used in the Greek translation of 1 Enoch 10:16.

As Black notes, the motif of the *plant* is used to describe the elect, be that those who were elect at the time of the flood, the elect among post-exilic Israel, or those chosen to come through the coming judgement.¹²³ Fujita is more specific than this, stating that the notion of the *plant* in inter-testamental Jewish literature relates exclusively to the righteous elect among Israel.¹²⁴

The Plant and the Eschatons of 1 Enoch 6-11

As Hanson notes, the motif of the *plant of righteousness and truth* was an important phrase to the “self-consciousness of sectarian apocalypticism of the third and second centuries BCE”.¹²⁵ Hanson then proceeds, however, to

ש[ו]ר, and fragment 4Q268 1, line 14, gives ש[ו]ר [ש] מַמְעָת - c.f. Joseph M. Baumgarten, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII. Qumran Cave 4 xiii - The Damascus Document* (4Q266-273) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 34-6, 119-20.

¹²² For the text of the Psalms of Solomon, c.f. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: D.B., 1979), vol. 2, 471-89. An English translation is furnished by S. P. Brock in Sparks (1984), 649-82.

¹²³ Black (1985), 133.

¹²⁴ Fujita (1978), 31.

¹²⁵ Hanson (1977), 201.

link the use of this phrase with 1 Enoch 10:21, in the second unit, where all the nations of the earth worship the Most High. This link is problematic because, as has been demonstrated, the notion of the *plant* in inter-testamental Jewish literature relates exclusively to the righteous elect (among Israel).¹²⁶ An eschaton which preserves only the righteous elect of Israel, with all the rest of mankind being destroyed [c.f. 1 Enoch 10:13-16], is not compatible with one in which all the nations of the earth worship the Most High. Therefore, it appears likely that the eschaton of 1 Enoch 6-11 is composed of two separate units, the first being more “exclusive” than the second.¹²⁷

In attempting to assess which of the eschatological scenarios is the more original, the following observations must be considered. Firstly, as Hanson observes, the presentation of the restored earth in 1 Enoch 10:16-19 (the SL-revision) describes the eschaton in terms of the fulfilment of the Noahic Covenant [c.f. 1 Enoch 10:17-19 with Gen. 8:17, 22; 9:1].¹²⁸ It is this scenario which is the more “exclusive”.

The second “inclusive” unit, 1 Enoch 10:20-11:2, has a different theme. Not only are the nations of the earth worshipping the Most High, but also, as

¹²⁶ Fujita [(1978), 33] later explains that the righteous Jews considered themselves to be the group which would survive through the eschaton.

¹²⁷ Note that the designations *first* and *second* in relation to the two distinct eschatons of 1 Enoch 6-11 only relate to the order in which they occur, and are not intended to imply priority.

The two different notions of what happens to the Gentiles in the eschaton both appear at regular intervals. For example, the destruction of the Gentiles occurs in the T. Mos. 10:7, and the conversion of the Gentiles occurs in 1 Enoch 90:37-38 & 91:14.

¹²⁸ Hanson (1977), 201-2.

Hanson observes, the covenant and blessings of Deuteronomy 28:12 find their fulfilment in 1 Enoch 11:1.¹²⁹ Thus the theme behind the eschaton is not Noahic but derived from the later Deuteronomic source. This Deuteronomic source defines the relationship between the Israelites and the other nations in the eschaton as one in which Israel are pre-eminent, and the other nations are subservient. Despite the obvious difference in rank, this scenario is still the more “inclusive” of the two.

A possible explanation for why a second, more inclusive eschatological scenario may have developed relates to a possible shift in attitude towards the second temple. As suggested by Hanson¹³⁰, the expectation of the blessings which, according to Haggai 2:6-9, were to follow the building of the second temple would certainly have been disappointed by the time the latter strata of 1 Enoch 6-11 were added. The eschaton of the SL-revision contained the promise of the restored earth to the *plant of righteousness and truth*. As Fujita observes, the motif of the *plant* in inter-testamental literature is associated with the temple in a number of places.¹³¹ If the original eschaton of the SN was considered to contain an implicit hope concerning the glory of the second temple, later disillusionment with the second temple may have caused a later author to look for the fulfilment of this expectation in a future temple. The prophecy of Haggai 2:6-9 contains

¹²⁹ Hanson (1977), 202.

¹³⁰ Hanson (1977), 202.

¹³¹ Fujita (1978), 38-40. Fujita discussed this association in relation to the following references: 1 Enoch 91; Jub. 1.

the promise that the nations shall be drawn to the temple, which is a feature unique to the second unit of the eschaton of 1 Enoch 6-11. Thus the author of the second unit, in composing a more inclusive eschatological narrative, which is based on a hope in the fulfilment of prophecies like Haggai 2:6-9, has composed a narrative which contains an implicit polemic against the second temple.

The eschaton of 1 Enoch 6-11 is, like the whole work, a composite narrative consisting of two sections which present differing accounts of the restored earth. The earlier is based upon the Noahic Covenant and is more agricultural in content. It contains the motif of the *plant of righteousness and truth* which may have been understood as containing an implicit hope in the second temple. The latter rejects any such hope there may have been in the second temple. It looks for the glory of a temple to come and a time when all the nations will be worshipping the Most High. Rather than being based on the Noahic covenant, it is based on the blessings which are promised to those who keep the Deuteronomic Law properly. Thus implicit in the latter eschaton is a dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of second temple.

The typological model used by the author(s) of 1 Enoch 6-11 is not the simple *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology suggested by scholars such as Nickelsburg, but is more akin to that put forward by Hanson in which history is condensed into the period between the punishment of the rebellious angels and the impending deluge.

§1.4.7 The Purpose of the AP-Revision

The prayer of the four archangels very much expresses the distress of the final compiler of 1 Enoch 6-11 with the present state of affairs in the world. The conflict between the experience of the author(s), distressed at the violence and devastation suffered by his people, and his doctrine, which espouses the sovereignty and justice of the Most High, expresses itself in the angels' statement:

... the whole earth has been filled with blood and iniquity ... and you know everything before it happens ... and yet there is nothing which you say to us ... [1 Enoch 9:9-11]

Thus it is the apparent inactivity of the Most High, his failure to act and put a stop to the suffering of the righteous, which is the most distressing aspect of the author's lament.

Underlying the author's distress, however, is an implicit hope that the cries of the suffering righteous will invoke the Most High's intervention. Thus 1 Enoch 9:2 mentions the cries of mankind reaching the gates of heaven and stirring the intercession of the four archangels. It is through these archangels that the Most High then intervenes in behalf of the righteous elect.

§1.4.8 Enoch 6-11 and the *Book of Watchers*

As noted in §1.4.2, the purpose of the core SN of 1 Enoch 6-11 was to warn of the dangers of divination, particularly the type encountered by the exiles in Babylon.

The context of the *Book of Watchers* which was built around 1 Enoch 6-11 is rather different in its attitude towards the mantic arts and, as such, appears to contradict the central Shemihazah narrative. Central to this different attitude to the mantic arts is the person of Enoch who, as previously noted, does not occur in 1 Enoch 6-11. There are two key aspects to the presentation of Enoch in the *Book of Watchers* which suggest that he was strongly associated with the mantic arts.¹³²

Firstly, the presentation of the person of Enoch in 1 Enoch 1:2-3 bears a striking resemblance to the presentation of Balaam in Numbers 22-24.¹³³ Secondly, in 1 Enoch 12-16, Enoch's role is that of intermediary between heaven and earth.¹³⁴ In this way, he represents what could be regarded as the *acceptable* face of divination, much in the same way as Daniel does in Daniel 2, 4 & 5.

To the core SN narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11, all divination is condemned and blamed for the current ills of the world. Participation in divination is clearly presented as a crime which results in separation from the Most High.

¹³² For a detailed discussion on the mantic associations of Enoch, c.f. VanderKam (1984), 76-140.

¹³³ VanderKam (1984), 115-6.

¹³⁴ VanderKam (1984), 130.

The rest of the *Book of Watchers*, however, has a more balanced approach, espousing the idea that there is an acceptable side to divination, exemplified by the antediluvian hero Enoch, and that the practise itself is not to be rejected. This removes the contradiction between the anti-divination polemic of 1 Enoch 6-11 and the Joseph and Daniel narratives which show two Biblical heroes prospering in a mantic context.

Thus the construction of the *Book of Watchers* around 1 Enoch 6-11 serves to reverse, or at least blunt, the original purpose of the Shemihazah narrative. In what must surely be regarded as one of the most ironic uses of an inter-testamental Jewish polemical text, the very polemic is contradicted by what is built around it. This was almost certainly a conscious act on the part of the compiler(s) of the *Book of Watchers*, who probably did not share the anti-divination perspective of the original Shemihazah narrative, or were concerned with its contradiction of the Biblical Joseph and Daniel narratives.

§1.5 Provenance

As noted above, there is a degree of uncertainty regarding the provenance of 1 Enoch 6-11.¹³⁵ There are two points which need to be taken into account when considering the provenance of this narrative.

Firstly, the object of the polemic of the core SN was the Babylonian system of divination. This would suggest an exilic, or at least Babylonian, context for the origin, if not the composition, of the core narrative.¹³⁶ It is possible, however, that such forms of divination were encountered outside of Babylonia proper.

Secondly, there is a hint that the AN stratum was inserted in a Palestinian context. The AN-revision tells how the angel Asael taught metallurgy to mankind. One of the most important sites in Palestine for metallurgical activity was Tel Dan.¹³⁷ This is significant because Tel Dan is situated at the foot of Mount Hermon, upon which the angels descended according to the core SN. Thus it appears that local knowledge concerning metallurgy at the location of the angelic descent may have been a component in the attraction of the AN into 1 Enoch 6-11.

¹³⁵ C.f. footnote 32 above.

¹³⁶ This would also help explain the allusions to Babylonian traditions highlighted by Collins – c.f. footnote 32 above.

¹³⁷ Tel Dan was the site of metallurgical activity from the Late Bronze period, and this aspect of its economy expanded throughout the Iron Age. Its importance to the site is demonstrated in that, following the Assyrian conquest of Israel, Dan's economy experienced a boom against the backdrop of a regional decline. Dan specialised in recycling copper and bronze – c.f. Avraham Biran, "Dan" in *NEAEHL*. For a general description of the site, c.f. Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: 1994).

Thus it is possible that the narrative is composite also in provenance, with the earlier strata originating in Babylon, and the later strata being added in a Palestinian context.

§2 - The Text

§2 – The Text

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§2.1 - Introduction

§2.1 - Introduction.

The Book of Enoch is attested in four ancient versions: Ge'ez, Syriac, Greek and Aramaic. The section under discussion, chapters 6-11, is fully attested in both the Ge'ez and one of the Greek versions. The distance in provenance and period between these different versions demonstrates the enduring nature of the work.

The discovery of the Qumran Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch has established Aramaic as the most likely language of the original version. Evidence which has been produced for a possible Hebrew original is very fragmentary and not convincing (c.f. the discussion of 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis} in §1.1). The Aramaic version was translated into Greek, and the Greek version was subsequently translated into Ethiopic. A few scholars, notably Ullendorff, have attempted to demonstrate that the Ethiopic version was based upon an Aramaic *Vorlage*, but this position is analysed and rejected in the course of this study (c.f. especially §2.4).

The following *Introduction* describes each of these sources in detail and the process by which the *Text* section (§2.2) was composed. This is followed by the *Text* section, which presents the evidence of the different versions verse by verse to aid a comparative analysis.

The *Translation and Notes* section (§2.3) furnishes the reader with a verse by verse translation and textual notes. The purpose of these notes is to establish the relationship between the different sources and, if possible, which tradition has preserved the more original reading. Unfortunately, our

evidence for the original Aramaic version is rather fragmentary, so we are left with the problematic task of trying to discern which of the subsequent versions preserves the reading most likely to represent the original.

This data is analysed in §2.4 – *Textual Analysis*, which assesses the evidence in relation to current hypotheses concerning the relationship between the different traditions. Following the *Summary* (§2.5), §2.6 presents an analysis of the Karshuni Enoch quote (c.f. §2.1.2).

§2.1.1 - Ge'ez (Ethiopic).

The Book of Enoch as a whole is fully attested only in its later Ge'ez, or Classical Ethiopic, translation. Whilst this version may date as far back as between the fourth and seventh centuries CE¹³⁸, the earliest manuscripts published thus far only date back to the fifteenth century CE¹³⁹. One of the seven manuscripts presented for the first time in the following section, EMMML 2080, may date back to around the twelfth century, making it possibly the oldest Enoch manuscript yet to have readings published.

The first publication of the Ethiopic text of Enoch was that of Richard Laurence in 1838¹⁴⁰. This was Laurence's readings of one the manuscripts brought to Europe by the Scottish diplomat and explorer James Bruce who, in 1773, returned to Europe from North Africa with an array of manuscripts¹⁴¹. The first critical edition was that of August Dillmann who, in 1851, published *Liber Henoch Aethiopice* using five manuscripts¹⁴².

¹³⁸ During the Christian phase of the Aksumite period (4th - 6th centuries CE), the Bible, including Apocrypha and some Pseudepigraphal books, was translated into Ethiopic. This process, which may have continued into the seventh century, was possibly carried out by monophysite Syrian monks who fled to Ethiopia to escape persecution following the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE). For a detailed discussion on Bible translation into Ethiopic, c.f. Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 31-62; *The Ethiopians. An Introduction to Country and People* ² (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 139.

¹³⁹ See the list given in Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), II, 23-27.

¹⁴⁰ Richard Laurence, *Libri Enoch Prophetarum Versio Aethiopica, quae seculi sub fini novissimi ex Abyssinia Britanniam advecta vix tandem litterato orbi innotuit* (Oxford: Typis Academicis, 1838)

¹⁴¹ C.f. James Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh: first edition, 5 vols. - 1790; third edition, 8 vols. - 1813) for Bruce's own account of his twenty-nine month trek from Alexandria to Lake Tana. For an account of the exploration and study of Ethiopia, c.f. Ullendorff (1965), 1-22 - especially 12-14 regarding James Bruce.

¹⁴² August Dillmann, *Liber Henoch Aethiopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1851)

The two principal critical editions, by Johannes Flemming and R. H. Charles, appeared at the start of the twentieth century. Flemming published *Das Buch Henoch* in 1902, for which he used fourteen manuscripts¹⁴³. Charles published *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* in 1906, making use of twenty-two manuscripts¹⁴⁴. It was not until 1978, with the publication of Michael A. Knibb's *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, that a new critical edition was made¹⁴⁵. Knibb used twenty-six manuscripts as well as data from the Aramaic fragments and the Greek extracts.

The following *Text* section presents the present author's readings of seven manuscripts. Print-outs of these manuscripts were kindly supplied by the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library which houses the Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library. The present author would like to express gratitude to both the HMML and Dr. Getachew Haile for their assistance and permission to publish readings of these manuscripts.

The base-text is EMMML 6686, which is a seventeenth century manuscript from the monastery Debra Libanos in the Shewa region of Ethiopia. This is used for the base-text because it is a good example of a manuscript which some would suggest was produced by the scribal revisions of the late medieval/early modern period¹⁴⁶. In this way, it

¹⁴³ Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902)

¹⁴⁴ R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906)

¹⁴⁵ C.f. note 139.

¹⁴⁶ It has been suggested that the various parts of the Ethiopic version of the Bible were subject to a series of revisions beginning with those of Abba Salama during the fourteenth century. The circumstances and periods of these revisions remain uncertain, however, and

resembles Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23, which was used as the base-text for Knibb's edition¹⁴⁷. As well as readings of EML 6686, notes are given for the following manuscripts¹⁴⁸:

EMML	36	late 18 th - early 19 th century	Church of St. Raguel, Entoto, Addis Ababa.
EMML	1768	late 15 th century	Monastery of Hayq Estifanos, Ambassal, Wallo.
EMML	1950	17 th - 18 th century	Monastery of Hayq Estifanos, Ambassal, Wallo.
EMML	2080	12 th - 13 th century/15 th century ¹⁴⁹	Private library of Mamher Hayla Maryam, Ambassal, Wallo.
EMML	2436	17 th century	Church of Ankobarr Madhane Alam, Ankobarr, Shewa.
EMML	2440	dated 1663 CE	Church of Ankobarr Madhane Alam, Ankobarr, Shewa.

The present author's aim has not been to produce an eclectic or critical text of the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch 6-11, but rather to add to the body of evidence by providing new readings from seven manuscripts. In order to

various hypotheses have been advanced. For a detailed discussion of the different hypotheses, c.f. Ullendorff (1968), 36-62.

¹⁴⁷ Knibb (1978), II, 25 (note 9).

¹⁴⁸ For full details of these manuscripts, c.f. William F. Macomber and Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville* (Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 1975-).

¹⁴⁹ EML 2080 is 12th - 13th century according to Dr. William Macomber, but Dr. Sergew Hable Selassie asserts that it is from the 15th century - c.f. note 11. Tiller states that it is a late fifteenth century manuscript, but unfortunately gives no reason for this assertion - c.f.

represent these seven manuscripts faithfully, most types of variants have been listed. In order that the *Text* section should not be over-burdened with trivial variants, however, most of the variations due to misspelling, which would be normalised in a critical edition, have been omitted¹⁵⁰. The following, however, should be noted:

- EMLL 1786 is damaged in parts, so variants are only noted where the manuscript is legible. Absence of noted variants does not necessarily imply that EMLL 1768 agrees with EMLL 6686.
- The following sets of symbols are very often indistinguishable:

h and ḥ	ḡ, ḡ and ḡ
ô and ô	u and u

In such instances, the notes assume that the manuscript in question agrees with EMLL 6686.

- The vowels □ and □ are often indistinguishable, especially in the angelic names. Again, the notes assume that the manuscript in question agrees with EMLL 6686.
- The punctuation of the text differs from manuscript to manuscript.

To overcome this, the present author has punctuated the text as follows: ; between words

Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 143.

¹⁵⁰ For a discussion of manuscript errors and normalisation, c.f. Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1978), 13-14. See also Knibb's comments on how the method in Charles' edition is questionable because it "sometimes makes the use and interpretation of his evidence difficult" - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 5-6. The

∴ at the end of each verse

There have been a number of theories advanced regarding the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch. Originally, it was assumed that the Ethiopic translation was based on a Greek *Vorlage*¹⁵¹, and this assumption appears only to have been contested by Schmidt¹⁵².

The discovery of the Aramaic Enoch fragments at Qumran, coupled with the work of Ullendorff, has caused this view to be challenged¹⁵³. Ullendorff eventually suggested that the Syrian translators used an Aramaic *Vorlage*, but had recourse to the Greek when they encountered passages that were in Hebrew¹⁵⁴.

As shall become clear in the course of our analysis, however, there is much evidence for Greek influence upon the Ethiopic version. Whether such Greek influences signify the exclusive use of a Greek *Vorlage*, or its use beside an Aramaic *Vorlage*, or whether they signify a later revision that utilised

present author hopes that a fair balance between clarity and a close representation of the manuscripts has been achieved in §2.2.

¹⁵¹ Charles, Flemming and Dillmann all present this view - c.f. Charles (1906), x; Johannes Flemming and Ludwig Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), 2; August Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch. Uebersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853), lix.

¹⁵² N. Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch" in R. F. Harper, F. Brown and G. F. Moore, eds., *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (Chicago: 1908), II, 329-49; "The Apocalypse of Noah and the Parables of Enoch" in *Oriental Studies Dedicated to Paul Haupt* (Leipzig: 1926), 111-23.

¹⁵³ C.f. Edward Ullendorff, "An Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic Text of 1 Enoch?" in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), 259-67.

¹⁵⁴ Ullendorff (1968), 61-62.

Greek evidence is as yet unresolved. Such issues will be considered in §2.4 –

Textual Analysis.

§2.1.2 - Syriac.

Amongst the most important of the Syriac historical books is the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, the twelfth century Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. Comprising twenty-one books, Michael's *Chronicle* runs up until the year 1195 CE¹⁵⁵. In Book 1, chapter iv, Michael gives what Brock describes as the "only genuine fragment of 1 Enoch to be preserved in Syriac"¹⁵⁶. This fragment covers 1 Enoch 6:1-7.

The context of Michael's Enoch quote merits a brief examination as it sheds light on the purpose of its incorporation into Michael's *Chronicle* and, hence, its value as a textual witness. The last section of chapter iii of Book 1 describes the descent of the *sons of God* from Mount Hermon to dwell with mankind. These two hundred angels, having abandoned their angelic life, take for themselves wives from the daughters of Cain and beget the giants. Chapter iv then describes the history of kingship upon the earth, starting with Adam and his immediate successor Seth. During their reigns, the children of Seth enjoy peace. The coming of the angels, and their installing of *Semyazos* as king, ushers in an era of violence and murder, and the children of Seth soon become like the children of Cain. The history of kingship is then continued throughout the remainder of chapter iv.

¹⁵⁵ Michael's *Chronicle* was published in a number of volumes. For the passage of interest to our study, c.f. Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed. & transl.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien. Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche 1166-1199* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 3-4 (text), 7-8 (translation).

¹⁵⁶ C.f. Sebastian P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac" in *JThSt* NS 19 (1968), 626-31, 626.

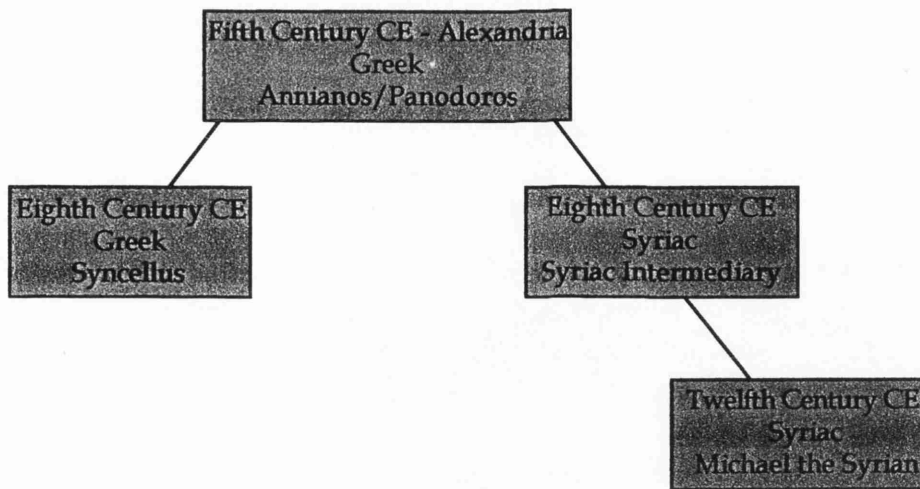
In the margins, the *Chronicle* is supported by excerpts from a number of sources. This includes a number of citations from the *Book of Josephus* (ܐܡܠܚܡܐ ܠܝܘܫܘܥ) and the one quote from the *Book of Enoch* (ܐܡܠܚܡܐ ܠܝܘܫܘܥ). Thus Michael's Enoch quote is by no means designed as a translation of part of the *Book of Enoch*. It is rather the use of elements from the *Book of Enoch* for the purpose of supporting the main narrative. Thus its use as a textual witness should not be overstated.

Regarding the source of Michael's Enoch passage, Gelzer has demonstrated how later Byzantine scholarship on the Old Testament Apocrypha was based on the accounts of the two early fifth century Alexandrian chronographers Annianos and Panodoros¹⁵⁷. It is suggested that Michael the Syrian did not know of these two sources directly, but through a Syriac intermediary, possibly either of the two eighth century chroniclers Jacob of Edessa and John of Litarba¹⁵⁸.

What makes this a fascinating hypothesis is that our knowledge of Panodoros is almost exclusively derived from Georgios Syncellus, the eighth century Byzantine chronographer whose Greek Enoch passages are discussed in the next section (c.f. §2.1.3). According to the hypothesis

¹⁵⁷ Gelzer demonstrated how it is from Panodoros through Annianos that Old Testament Apocryphal sources reached later Byzantine scholarship. This was demonstrated in reference to Jubilees and he argued that it was the same for Enoch - c.f. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig: 2 vols., 1880-1898), II, 262-4. C.f. also Brock (1968), 628.

¹⁵⁸ Brock (1968), 626, 629.



outlined above, one concludes that the Syriac intermediary and Syncellus' Greek excerpts were both translated from the same Alexandrian source in the same period (see diagram above). In view of this, Brock notes that "it is not surprising ... that Michael's Syriac quotation agrees most closely with the Greek of Synkellos"¹⁵⁹. This will be discussed further in our analysis.

According to Guidi, Chabot's manuscript of Michael's *Chronicle* no longer exists¹⁶⁰. Therefore the following *Text* section gives the present author's readings of Chabot's hand-written copies. Brock's suggested amendments are discussed in the *Translation and Notes* section. There does exist, however, a Karshuni translation of Michael's *Chronicle* that was made from the Syriac. An analysis of this is given in §2.6¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁹ Brock (1968), 629.

¹⁶⁰ Ignazio Guidi, "Note Miscellanee" in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, 3 (1889), 164-181, especially 167-9.

¹⁶¹ This analysis is based upon manuscript BMO^r 4402, dated 1846, which is now housed in the British Library.

§2.1.3 - Greek.

Syncellus

Until the introduction of the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch into Europe, the Greek excerpts found in Patristic literature and the quote in the New Testament Book of Jude provided the only textual witnesses to this book. Chief amongst these, and of particular importance for our study, are the portions preserved in Chronography of Georgius Syncellus¹⁶².

Writing at the turn of the ninth century CE, Georgius Syncellus provides two portions of interest to our study:

Gr^{Syn a} 1 Enoch 6:1-9:4¹⁶³

Gr^{Syn b} 1 Enoch 8:4-10:14¹⁶⁴

The following Text section's presentation of Syncellus is based upon Black's edition, with reference made to Dindorf when necessary¹⁶⁵. In addition to Dindorf and Black, the editions of Flemming and Rademacher¹⁶⁶, Swete¹⁶⁷ and Charles¹⁶⁸ have been consulted. Furthermore, the present author consulted Goar's 1729 edition that is housed in the Dr William's Library, London¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶² The principal edition is Guilielmus Dindorfius (ed.), *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Vol. 1, Chronographiae* (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829). For a more recent edition, see also Matthew Black (ed.), *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

¹⁶³ C.f. Dindorfius, 20-3.

¹⁶⁴ C.f. Dindorfius, 42-6.

¹⁶⁵ C.f. note 162.

¹⁶⁶ J. Flemming & L. Rademacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: 1901)

¹⁶⁷ Henry B. Swete, *The Psalms of Solomon with the Greek Fragments of the Book of Enoch* (Cambridge: 1899)

¹⁶⁸ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893)

¹⁶⁹ F. Jacobus Goar (ed. & trans.), *Georgii Monachi Syncelli et Nicephori CP. Patriarchæ - Chronographia* (Venetiis: Bartholomæi Javarina, 1729).

Codex Panopolitanus

Apart from Syncellus, the other important Greek witness is the manuscript excavated from a grave in Akhmim, Egypt. Named after the Latin toponym *Panopolis*, Codex Panopolitanus was unearthed in 1886. It contains parts of the pseudepigraphal *Gospel* and *Apocalypse of Peter* as well as 1 Enoch 1-32.

The *editio princeps* was produced in 1892 by Bouriant¹⁷⁰, who suggested that the manuscript dated from between the eighth and twelfth centuries¹⁷¹. Later on, however, Kenyon dated the manuscript to the sixth century¹⁷². In 1893, Lods published photographic plates of Codex Panopolitanus, along with a substantial number of corrections to Bouriant's initial publication¹⁷³. Furthermore, Lods also produced his own edition, with translation and commentary¹⁷⁴.

The following *Text* section gives the present author's readings of the plates provided by Lods. In addition to Bouriant and Lods, the editions of Flemming and Radermacher, Charles, Swete and Black, mentioned above in regard to Syncellus, have been consulted.

¹⁷⁰ M. U. Bouriant, *Fragments du Texte Grec du Livre D'Énoch et de Quelques Écrits Attribués a Saint Pierre* in *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, Part IX, 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892)

¹⁷¹ Bouriant (1892), 93.

¹⁷² F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (1899), 119.

¹⁷³ M. A. Lods, *Reproduction en Héliogravure du Manuscrit d'Énoch et des Écrits Attribués a Saint Pierre avec Introduction* in *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, Part IX, 3 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893)

¹⁷⁴ M. A. Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch. Fragments Grecs découverts à Akhmim* (Paris: 1892)

§2.1.4 - Aramaic.

Among the discoveries made in Cave Four of Qumran were fragments of eleven leather manuscripts of the Book of Enoch in Aramaic. The *editio princeps* was produced by Milik¹⁷⁵, who designated the five manuscripts containing parts of the *Book of Watchers* as 4QEn^a - 4QEn^e. Milik claimed to have identified fragments corresponding to the following sections of 1 Enoch 6-11 in three of these manuscripts¹⁷⁶:

4QEn ^a	1 Enoch 6:4 - 8:1; 8:3 - 9:3; 9:6-8; 10:3-4; 10:21 - 11:1
4QEn ^b	1 Enoch 6:1-4; 6:7 - 8:1; 8:2 - 9:4; 10:8-12
4QEn ^c	1 Enoch 6:7; 10:13-19

Milik also claimed that the Aramaic *Book of Watchers* “with their Aramaic context restored, overlap with half of the Ethiopic text”¹⁷⁷. Unfortunately, the vast majority of the Aramaic text presented by Milik in his edition is made up of his restorations, rather than actual Qumran fragments¹⁷⁸. Thus one is very conscious of the need to compare Milik’s readings with the photographic plates given at the end of his edition. The following *Text*

¹⁷⁵ J. T. Milik (with the collaboration of Matthew Black), *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976)

¹⁷⁶ Milik (1976), 365.

¹⁷⁷ Milik (1976), 22.

¹⁷⁸ See the following reviews for detailed critiques of Milik (1976): James Barr, *JThS* 29 (1978) 517-30; James Barr, *JSS* 23 (1978), 184-98 & 24 (1979), 179-192; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *ThSt* 38 (1977), 332-45; T. W. Franxman, *Biblica* 58 (1977), 432-6; M. A. Sokoloff, *Maarav* 1.2 (1979), 197-224; J. C. VanderKam, *Maarav* 3.1 (1982), 85-97. For a more extensive list of critiques and responses to Milik, see also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *JJS* 41 (1990), 13-48.

section gives the present author's readings of the photographs published by Milik¹⁷⁹. Also consulted is Beyer¹⁸⁰, in addition to the reviews already noted.

¹⁷⁹ C.f. Milik (1976), plates III-VIII, X-XI. The readings given in the *Text* section differ greatly to those given by Milik. The reasons for these differences, however, are not given in the *Translation and Notes* section, as a proper critique of Milik would make this section too cumbersome. Milik's edition is discussed further in §2.7.

¹⁸⁰ Klaus Beyer, *Die Aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 234-8.

§2.2 – Text

1 Enoch 6:1

Ge'ez

ወኮነ ፤ እምዘ ፤ በዝኑ ፤ ውሉደ ፤ ሰብእ ፤ በእማንቲ ፤ መዋዕል ፤
ተወልዳ ፤ ለሙ ፤ አዋልድ ፤ ሠናያት ፤ ወላህያት ።

Syriac

✠ ܡܪܝܢ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܥܝܢ
ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ
ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ ܕܚܝܬ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἐγένετο οὗ ἂν ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν
ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐγεννήθησαν θυγατέρες ὥραϊαι καὶ καλαί.

Syncellus^a:

ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων.

καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγεννήθησαν
αὐτοῖς θυγατέρες ὥραϊαι.

Notes:

EMML 36 **לפוחנח** instead of **לפוח** **נח**
 לפוח **לפוח** instead of **לפוח** **לפוח**

EMML 2080 **לפוחנח** instead of **לפוח** **נח**

1 Enoch 6:2

Ge'ez

ወርእዩ ፣ ኪያሆን ፣ መላእክት ፣ ውሉደ ፣ ሰማያት ፣ ወፈተውዎን ፣
ወይቤሉ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ ንዑ ፣ ንጎረይ ፣ ለነ። ፣ አንስተ ፣ እም
ውሉደ ፣ ሰብእ ፣ ወንለድ ፣ ለነ ፣ ውሉደ ።

Syriac

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢ ܕܝܠܐ ܝܗܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἐθεάσαντο αὐτάς οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν
αὐτάς καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δεῦτε ἐκλεξώμεθα ἑαυτοῖς
γυναῖκας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ γεννήσομεν ἑαυτοῖς τέκνα.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτάς οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν ὀπίσω
αὐτῶν καὶ εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκλεξώμεθα ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας
ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς.

Notes:

EMML 1768 unclear, but possibly ወርእዩዎን instead of ወርእዩ

EMML 1950 ከያሆን instead of ኪያሆን

EMML 2080 በበይናቲሆን instead of በበይናቲሆሙ

EMML 2436 omits ለነ^(a)

አንስትያ instead of አንስተ

ወንለድ ፤ ውሉደ ፤ ለነ instead of ወንለድ ፤ ለነ ፤ ውሉደ

1 Enoch 6:3

Ge'ez

ወይቤሉሙ ፣ ስምያዛ ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ መልእኮሙ ፣ እፈርህ ፣ ዮጊ ፣ ኢ
ትፈቅዱ ፣ ይትገበር ፣ ዝንቱ ፣ ግብር ፣ ወእኩውን ፣ እነ ፣ ባሕቲትየ ፣
ፈዳይሃ ፣ ለዛቲ ፣ ኃጢአት ፣ ዓባይ ።

Syriac

ܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܐܒܐ . ܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܝ ܡܪܝܩܡܐ ܝܘܟܐ
ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܐ , ܕܥܠܐ ܕܐܕܐ ܕܐܕܐ ܕܐܕܐ ܕܐܕܐ . ܕܐܕܐ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ εἶπεν Σεμιαζᾶς πρὸς αὐτούς ὃς ἦν ἄρχων αὐτῶν Φοβοῦμαι
μὴ οὐ θελήσετε ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ μόνος
ὀφειλέτης ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ εἶπε Σεμιαζᾶς ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς φοβοῦμαι μὴ οὐ
θελήσητε ποιῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ μόνος
ὀφειλέτης ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης.

Notes:

EMML 36 ሰምያዛ instead of ሰምያዛ
ኢትፍቅዱ instead of ኢትፈቅዱ

EMML 1768 እንዘ ፤ ውእቱ instead of ዘውእቱ
ወእፈርህ instead of እፈርህ
ፈዳዪ instead of ፈዳይሃ

EMML 1950 ፈዳዪሃ instead of ፈዳይሃ
ዐባይ instead of ዓባይ

EMML 2080 እንዘ ፤ ውእቱ instead of ዘውእቱ
ኢትፍቅዱ instead of ኢትፈቅዱ
omits ወእከውን but notes in margin that it should follow አነ
ፈዳዪሃ instead of ፈዳይሃ
ለኃጢአት instead of ለዛቲ ፤ ኃጢአት
ዐባይ instead of ዓባይ

EMML 2436 ኢትፍቅዱ instead of ኢትፈቅዱ
ፈዳዪሃ instead of ፈዳይሃ
ዐባይ instead of ዓባይ

EMML 2440 ሰምያዛ instead of ሰምያዛ
ኢትፍቅዱ instead of ኢትፈቅዱ

1 Enoch 6:4

Ge'ez

ወአውሥኡ ፣ ሉቱ ፣ ኩሉሙ ፣ ወይቤሉ ፣ መሐላ ፣ ንምሐል ፣ ኩል
ነ ፣ ወንትዋገዝ (a)፣ በበይናቲነ ፣ ክመ ፣ ኢንሚጣ ፣ ለዛቲ ፣ ምክር ፣
ወንግበራ ፣ ለዛቲ ፣ ምክር ፣ ግብረ ።

Syriac

ܡܠ […] ܠܡܕܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

ἀπεκρίθησαν οὖν αὐτῷ πάντες ὁμόσωμεν ὅρκῳ πάντες καὶ
ἀναθεματίσωμεν πάντες ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀποστρέψαι τὴν γνώμην
ταύτην μέχρις οὗ ἂν τελέσωμεν αὐτήν καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα
τοῦτο.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ πάντες καὶ εἶπον ὁμόσωμεν ἅπαντες ὅρκῳ
καὶ ἀναθεματίσωμεν ἀλλήλους τοῦ μὴ ἀποστρέψαι τὴν γνώμην
ταύτην μέχρις οὗ ἀποτελέσωμεν αὐτήν.

Aramaic

ואמרו לה בלהן נמ]א

4QEn^a

נתוב כלנה מן מלב]ה

Notes:

EMML 1768 omits **ܐܕܢܐ**
ܚܫܐ instead of **ܚܫܐ**

EMML 1950 **ܚܫܐ** instead of **ܚܫܐ**

EMML 2080 omits **ܐܕܢܐ**
ܐܕܢܐ instead of **ܐܕܢܐ**
(a) inserts **ܚܐ**
ܚܫܐ instead of **ܚܫܐ**
ܠܐܕܢܐ instead of **ܠܐܕܢܐ**

EMML 2436 **ܐܕܢܐ** instead of **ܐܕܢܐ**
ܚܫܐ instead of **ܚܫܐ**

1 Enoch 6:5

Ge'ez

አሜሃ ፣ መሐሉ ፣ ኩሉሙ ፣ ኅቡረ ፣ ወአውገዙ ፣ ኩሉሙ^(a)
፣ በበደናቲሆሙ ፣ ቦቱ ።

Syriac

ܐܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

τότε ὁμοσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ.

Syncellus^a:

τότε πάντες ὁμοσαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους.

Aramaic

ܒܠܠܐ ܒܚܚܐ ܘܐܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܝܬܐ 4QEn^a

Notes:

EMML 36 omits መሐሉ
አውገዙ instead of ወአውገዙ
(a) omits ከሉሉም

EMML 1768 (a) omits ከሉሉም

EMML 2080 omits መሐሉ but notes it in the margin
(a) omits ከሉሉም

EMML 2436 (a) omits ከሉሉም

1 Enoch 6:6

Notes:

EMML 36 omits ቦቱ - unclear, but ቦቱ may be noted above the line

EMML 1768 ክልኦ instead of ፪
omits ቦቱ

EMML 1950 omits ቦቱ

EMML 2080 omits ወኮኑ but notes it in the margin
ለአርሞን instead of ለደብረ ፣ አርሞን - unclear, but ደብረ
may be noted in the
margin
omits ቦቱ

EMML 2436 ዘውእት instead of ዘውእቱ
ለአርሞን instead of ለደብረ ፣ አርሞን - ደብረ is noted
above the line

EMML 2440 omits ቦቱ

1 Enoch 6:7

Ge'ez

ወዝንቱ (a)፣ አስማቲሆሙ ፣ ለመላእክቲሆሙ ፣ ስምያዛ ፣ ዘውእቱ ፣ መ
ልአኮሙ ፣ አራኪቦራሜኤል ፣ አኪቤኤል ፣ ጣሜኤል ፣ ራሙኤል ፣
ዳንኤል ፣ ኤዜቄኤል ፣ ስራቁያል ፣ አሳኤል ፣ አርምርስ ፣ በጥርአል
፣ አናዓኤ ፣ ዛቆቤ ፣ ሰምሳፔኤል ፣ ሰርቱኤል ፣ ጡርኤል ፣ ዮምያኤ
ል ፣ አራዝያል ።

Syriac

ܩܡܠܐ ܕܝܗܐ ܡܝ ܠܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ
ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ
ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܩܡܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν· Σεμιαζὰ οὗτος ἦν
ἄρχων αὐτῶν· Ἀραθάκ Κιμβρά Σαμμανή Δανειήλ Ἀρεαρώς Σεμιήλ
Ἰωμειήλ Χωχαριήλ Ἐζεκιήλ Βατριήλ Σαθιήλ Ἀτριήλ Ταμιήλ
Βαρακιήλ Ἀνανθνά Θωνιήλ Ῥαμιήλ Ἀσέαλ Ῥακειήλ Τουριήλ.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν· α' Σεμιαζᾶς ὁ ἄρχων
αὐτῶν· β' Ἀταρκούφ γ' Ἀρακιήλ δ' Χωβαβιήλ ε' Ὁραμμαμή ς'

Ῥαμιήλ ζ' Σαμφίχ η' Ζακιήλ θ' Βαλκιήλ ι' Ἀζαλζήλ ια' Φαρμαρός
 ιβ' Ἀμαριήλ ιγ' Ἀναγημάς ιδ' Θαυσαήλ ιε' Σαμιήλ ις' Σαρινᾶς ιζ'
 Εὐμιήλ ιη' Τυριήλ ιθ' Ἰουμιήλ κ' Σαριήλ.

Aramaic

[ואלין]

4QEn^a

שמיחזה] [תנין לה רמט]אל

לה כוכבא]ל חמ]ישי לה רעמא]ל

דניאל שב]יעי ל]ה ברקאל תשיע]י

עסאל עסירי] [לה מטראל תרי עסר]

עננאל תלתת עסר] אר]בעת עסר לה שמשי]אל

עסר לה שהריאל] ש]תת עסר לה]

מוריאל תמני]ת עסר]לה ימ]יאל [תשעת לה

תליתי]לה [בוכבאל רביעי לה]

4QEn^c

[ויקיאל] [לה

וחרמני] [לה מט]ראל [עננאל תלתת עשר לה

ארבע]ת עשר [שמשי]אל [שהריאל שתת ע]שר

Notes:

- EMML 36 ወዝንቱ ውእቱ instead of ወዝንቱ
ኦራኪበራሜኤል instead of ኦራኪቦራሜኤል
ዳንየል instead ዳንኤል
ስራቅያል instead ስራቁያል
አሰኤል instead of አሳኤል
አርማሮስ instead of አርምርስ
በጥረአል instead of በጥርአል
አናንኤ instead of አናዓኤ
ዘቋቤ instead of ዛቋቤ
ሰርተኤል instead of ሰርቱኤል
ጠርኤል instead of ጡርኤል
- EMML 1768 ዝንቱ ውእቱ instead of ዘውእቱ
- EMML 1950 ኦራኪበራሜኤል instead of ኦራኪቦራሜኤል
አኪዜኤል instead of አኪቤኤል
ጣምኤል instead of ጣሜኤል
በጥረአል instead of በጥርአል
አናንኤል instead of አናዓኤ
ዘቋቤ instead of ዛቋቤ
ሰምሳፔኤል instead of ሰምሳፔኤል
ሰርትኤል instead of ሰርቱኤል
- EMML 2080 ሴሚያዛ instead of ሰምያዛ
ዝንቱ ውእቱ instead of ዘውእቱ
አራከበራሜ[ኤል] instead of ኦራኪቦራሜኤል
ኮከብኤል instead of አኪቤኤል
ራምኤል instead of ራሙኤል
አዘቄኤል instead of ኤዜቄኤል
በራቅየል instead of ስራቁያል
አሰኤል instead of አሳኤል
አርሜሮስ instead of አርምርስ
በጠርኤል instead of በጥርአል
አና[ዓ]ኤል instead of አናዓኤ
ዘቋቤ instead of ዛቋቤ
ሰምሳፒቤኤል instead of ሰምሳፔኤል
ሰተርኤል instead of ሰርቱኤል
ዮምየል instead of ዮምያኤል
አራዝየል instead of አራዝያል
- EMML 2436 መልአከሙ instead of መልአኮሙ
ኦራኪበራሜኤል instead of ኦራኪቦራሜኤል
ኮከብኤል instead of አኪቤኤል

ጣሚኤል instead of ጣሜኤል
 ራሞኤል instead of ራሙኤል
 ሰራቅያል instead of ሰራቄያል
 አሰኤል instead of አሳኤል
 አርማኖስ instead of አርምርስ
 በጣኤል instead of በጥርአል
 አናንኤል instead of አናጻኤ
 ዘቆሌ instead of ዛቆቤ
 ሰምሰፓኤል instead of ሰምሳፔኤል
 omits ሰርቱኤል - but places ሰትርኤል after ጡርኤል
 ዮምያል instead of ዮምያኤል

EMML 2440 (a) notes above line to insert ውእቱ

ሰምያዛ instead of ሰምያዛ
 አራኪበራሜኤል instead of አራኪቦራሜኤል
 ሰራቄያል instead of ሰራቄያል
 አሰኤል instead of አሳኤል
 አርምርስ instead of አርምርስ
 በጥረአል instead of በጥርአል
 ሰርትኤል instead of ሰርቱኤል

1 Enoch 6:8

Ge'ez

እሱ ፣ እሙንቱ ፣ ሀበይቶሙ ፣ ለ፪፻መላእክት ፣ ወባዕዳን ፣ ኩሉ ፣
ምስሌሆሙ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

οὗτοί εἰσιν ἄρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα.

Aramaic

ܝܪܒܐ[ܢ]
ܐܠܝܢ ܐܢܢ ܪܒܢܝܢ ܥܡ ܐܪܬܐ 4QEn^a

Notes:

EMML 1768 ሐበይቱ instead of ሀበይቶሙ
ዓሠረቱ ዚአሆሙ instead of ለ፪፻መላእክት - unclear

EMML 2080 ሐበይት[ሙ] instead of ሀበይቶሙ
ዚአሆሙ instead of ለ፪፻መላእክት
ወበዕዳን instead of ወባዕዳን

EMML 2436 ምስሌሆሙ instead of ምስሌሆሙ

EMML 2440 ወበእዳን instead of ወባዕዳን
ምስሌሆሙ instead of ምስሌሆሙ

1 Enoch 7:1

Ge'ez

ወነሥኡ ፣ ሉሙ ፣ አንስትያ ፣ ወጎረዩ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ለለርእሱ ፣ አሐተ
፣ አሐተ (a) ፣ ወወጠኑ ፣ ይባኡ ፣ ጎቤሆን ፣ ወተደመሩ ፣ ምስሌሆን
፣ ወመሐርዎን ፣ ሥራያተ ፣ ወስብዓታተ ፣ ወመተረ ፣ ስርው ፣ ወዕፀ
ው ፣ አመርዎን ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐξελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς
γυναῖκας καὶ ἤρξαντο εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς καὶ μιαίνεσθαι
ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐδίδαξαν αὐτὰς φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς καὶ
ρίζοτομίας καὶ τὰς βοτάνας ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς.

Syncellus^a:

οὗτοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐν τῷ χιλιοστῷ ἑκατοστῷ ἑβδομηκοστῷ
ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας καὶ ἤρξαντο
μιαίνεσθαι ἐν αὐταῖς ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἔτεκον αὐτοῖς
γένη τρία πρῶτον γίγαντας μεγάλους.

Aramaic

נשין מן כל די בחרו ון 4QEn^a

וּלְלֵאֵלֵי אֲנִינִי חַרְשָׁה ון

Notes:

- EMML 36 **አንስቲያ** instead of **አንስትያ**
ወጋረየ instead of **ወጎረየ**
ወስብአታተ instead of **ወሰብዓታተ**
- EMML 1768 **አንስተ** instead of **አንስትያ**
- EMML 1950 **ወጋረየ** instead of **ወጎረየ**
 (a) omits **አሐተ** but notes it in the margin
ወስብዓታተ instead of **ወሰብዓታተ**
- EMML 2080 **አንስተ** instead of **አንስትያ**
ለለ ፣ ርእሱ instead of **ለለርእሱ**
 (a) omits **አሐተ** but notes it in the margin
- EMML 2436 **ኩለሙ** instead of **ለሙ**
አንስተ instead of **አንስትያ**
ወጋረየ instead of **ወጎረየ**
 (a) omits **አሐተ** but notes it above the line
ወስብአታት instead of **ወሰብዓታተ**
ወፅፀወ instead of **ወፅፀው**
- EMML 2440 **አንስቲያ** instead of **አንስትያ**
ወጋረየ instead of **ወጎረየ**

1 Enoch 7:2

Gé'ez

ወእማንቱሰ ፣ ፀንሳ ፣ ወወለዳ ፣ ረዓይተ ፣ ዓበይተ ፣ ወቆሞሙ ፣ በበ
፴፫በእመት ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

αἱ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ λαβοῦσαι ἐτέκοσαν γίγαντας μεγάλους ἐκ πηχῶν
τρισχιλίων.

Syncellus^a:

οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλεῖμ καὶ τοῖς Ναφηλεῖμ
ἐγεννήθησαν Ἑλίουδ καὶ ἦσαν αὐξανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν
μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἑαυτῶν φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδίας.

Aramaic

והויה במנן מנהן וילןרה 4QEn^a

הו מתלדין על ארעהן]

Notes:

EMML 1950 ፀበይተinstead of ዓበይተ

EMML 2080 ፀበይተinstead of ዓበይተ
በበ ፣ ሷ፫በእመት instead of በበሷ፫በእመት

EMML 2436 ፀበይተinstead of ዓበይተ
ሷ፫በእመት instead of በበሷ፫በእመት

1 Enoch 7:3

Ge'ez

እሉ ፣ በልዑ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ገማ ፣ ሰብእ ፣ እስከ ፣ ስእንዎሙ ፣ ሴስዮተ
፣ ሰብእ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

οἵτινες κατησθίονσαν τοὺς κόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥς δὲ οὐκ
ἐδυνήθησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιχορηγεῖν.

Aramaic

ܝܢ ܐܠܝ ܐܨܢܐ ܒܢܝ ܒܠ ܠܡܥ 4QEn^a

Notes:

EMML 36 ሰብእ ፣ ሴስዮተ instead of ሴስዮተ ፣ ሰብእ

EMML 2080 ኩሉሙ instead of ኩሉ
ስእንዎን instead of ስእንዎሙ

EMML 2440 omits ኩሉ

1 Enoch 7:4

Ge'ez

ወተመደጡ ፣ ረዓይት ፣ ላዕሌሆሙ ፣ ይብልዕዎሙ ፣ ለሰብእ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

οἱ γίγαντες ἐτόλμησαν ἐπ' αὐτούς καὶ κατησθίονσαν τοὺς
ἄνθρώπους.

Aramaic

קשרין לקטלה לאנשא ון 4QEn^a

Notes:

EMML 2080 ረዐይት instead of ረዓይት

EMML 2436 ራዓይት instead of ረዓይት

EMML 2440 ረኣይት instead of ረዓይት

1 Enoch 7:5

Ge'ez

ወወጠኑ ፣ የአብሱ ፣ በአዕዋፍ ፣ ወዲበ ፣ አራዊት ፣ ወበዘይትሐወስ
፣ ወበዓሣት ፣ ወሥጋሆሙ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ ተባለው ፣ ወሰትዩ ፣
ደመ ፣ እምኔሃ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀμαρτάνειν ἐν τοῖς πετεινοῖς καὶ τοῖς [θ]ηρίοις καὶ
ἐρπετοῖς καὶ τοῖς [ι]χθύσιν καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς σάρκας κατεσθίειν
καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἔπινον.

Aramaic

הקלכל בלכל בנפנפון תרע[ח] 4QEn^a

Notes:

EMML 36 ወደመ ፣ ሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

EMML 1768 በበ ፣ በይናቲሆሙ instead of በበይናቲሆሙ
ወደመ ፣ ደሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

EMML 1950 ወደመ ፣ ሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

EMML 2080 ወደመ ፣ ሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

EMML 2436 ያክብሱ instead of የክብሱ
ወበአራዊት instead of ወዲበ ፣ አራዊት
በዘይትሐወስ instead of ወበዘይትሐወስ
ወደመ ፣ ሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

EMML 2440 ወበአራዊት instead of ወዲበ ፣ አራዊት
ወደመ ፣ ሰትዩ instead of ወሰትዩ ፣ ደመ

1 Enoch 7:6

Ge'ez

አሜሃ ፣ ምድር ፣ ሰከዮቶሙ ፣ ለአማፅያን ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

τότε ἡ γῆ ἐνέτυχεν κατὰ τῶν ἀνόμων.

Aramaic

ܕܡܬܬܕܒܪ

4QEn^b

Notes:

EMML 1768 ለዓማጽያን instead of ለአማፅያን

EMML 1950 ለዓማፅያን instead of ለአማፅያን

EMML 2080 ለዓሚያን instead of ለአማፅያን

EMML 2440 ለዓማፅያን instead of ለአማፅያን

1 Enoch 8:1

Ge'ez

ወሐዛዝኤል ፣ መሀሮሙ ፣ ለሰብእ ፣ ገቢረ ፣ አስይፍት ፣ መመጥባሕት
፣ ወወልታ ፣ ወድርዓ ፣ እንግድዓ ፣ ወአርአዮሙ ፣ ዘእምድጎሬሆሙ ፣
ወምግባሪሆሙ ፣ አውቃፋተ ፣ ወሰርጐ ፣ ወተኩሕሉተ ፣ ወአወንዮ ፣
ቀራንብት ፣ ወዕብነ ፣ እምኩሉ ፣ እብን ፣ ክቡር ፣ ወጎሩይ ፣ ወኩሉ
፣ ጥምዓታተ ፣ ጎብር ፣ ወተውላጠ ፣ ዓለም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Ἀζαήλ μαχαίρας ποιεῖν καὶ ὄπλα καὶ
ἀσπίδας καὶ θώρακας διδάγματα ἀγγέλων καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς
τὰ μέταλλα καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ψέλια καὶ κόσμους καὶ
στίβεις καὶ τὸ καλλιβλέφαρον καὶ παντοίους λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς
καὶ τὰ βαφικά.

Syncellus^a:

πρῶτος Ἀζαήλ ὁ δέκατος τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐδίδαξε ποιεῖν μαχαίρας
καὶ θώρακας καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος πολεμικόν καὶ τὰ μέταλλα τῆς γῆς
καὶ τὸ χρυσίον πῶς ἐργάσωνται καὶ ποιήσωσιν αὐτὰ κόσμια ταῖς
γυναιξί καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔδειξε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στίλβειν καὶ τὸ
καλλωπίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς λιθοὺς καὶ τὰ βαφικά καὶ
ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν
αὐτῶν καὶ παρέβησαν καὶ ἐπλάνησαν τοὺς ἁγίους.

]ש[]ל[די חרבן די פרוזל[4QEn^b

]]נא ואל ובספא אל עבדא לצמירין[

ל[ע בוחלא ועל צדי[א

Notes:

EMML 36 אַחאָפֿ- instead of װאַחאָפֿ-

EMML 1768 אַװֿ-פֿאַ- instead of אַװֿ-פֿאַ-
װאַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ-

EMML 2080 װאַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ-
װאַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ-
אַחאָפֿ- instead of װאַחאָפֿ-
װאַװֿ- : אַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ- : אַװֿ-
אָפֿ- instead of אָפֿ-
װאַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ-

EMML 2436 אָפֿ- : אַװֿ- instead of אָפֿ- : אַװֿ-
װאַװֿ- : אַװֿ- instead of װאַװֿ- : אַװֿ-
אָפֿ- : אַװֿ- instead of אָפֿ- : אַװֿ-
אָפֿ- instead of אָפֿ-

EMML 2440 אַחאָפֿ- instead of װאַחאָפֿ-

1 Enoch 8:2

Ge'ez

ወኮነ ፣ ርስዓት ፣ ዓቢይ ፣ ወብዙጎ ፣ ዘምዎ ፣ ወስሕቱ (a)፣ ወማሰና
፣ ከሓ ፣ ፍናዊሆሙ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἀσέβεια πολλή καὶ ἐπόρνευσαν καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν
καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἀσέβεια πολλή ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἠφάνισαν τὰς ὁδοὺς
αὐτῶν.

Notes:

EMML 36 (a) inserts ወዘመዉ
ወማሰነ instead of ወማሰና

EMML 1768 ዓቢዩ instead of ዓቢይ
ወዘመዉ instead of ዘምዎ
ወማሰነ instead of ወማሰና

EMML 1950 ዐቢይ instead of ዓቢይ
ወማሰነ instead of ወማሰና

EMML 2080 ዐቢይ instead of ዓቢይ
ወማሰነ instead of ወማሰና

EMML 2440 ወማሰነ instead of ወማሰና
ፍናቶሙ instead of ፍናዊሆሙ

1 Enoch 8:3

Ge'ez

አሜዛራክ ፣ መሀረ ፣ ከኅሉ ፣ መሳብዕያነ ፣ ወመታርያነ ፣ ሥርዋት ፣
አርማሮስ ፣ ፈትሐ ፣ ስብዓታተ ፣ ወበረቀዓል ፣ ረዓይያነ ፣ ከዋክብት
፣ ወኮክብኤል ፣ ትእምርታተ ፣ ወጥምዔል ፣ መሐረ ፣ ርእየ ፣ ኮከብ
፣ ወአብራድኤል ፣ መሐረ ፣ ሩፀተ ፣ ወርኅ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

Σεμιαζᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπα[ο]ιδᾶς καὶ ῥιζοτομίας Ἀρμαρῶς ἐπαιδῶν
λυτήριον Βαρακιήλ ἀστρολογίας Χωχιήλ τὰ σημειωτικά Σαθιήλ
ἀστεροσκοπίαν Σεριήλ σεληναγωγί.

Syncellus^a:

ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶταρχος αὐτῶν Σεμιαζᾶς ἐδίδαξεν εἶναι ὀργᾶς
κατὰ τοῦ νοός καὶ ῥίζας βοτανῶν τῆς γῆς ὁ δὲ ἐνδέκατος
Φαρμαρὸς ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείας ἐπαιδίας σοφίας καὶ ἐπαιδῶν
λυτήρια ὁ ἕνατος ἐδίδαξεν ἀστροσκοπίαν ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἐδίδαξεν
ἀστρολογίαν ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν ὁ δὲ τρίτος
ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς ὁ δὲ ἑβδομος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ
ἡλίου ὁ δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης πάντες οὗτοι
ἥρξαντο ἀνακαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς
τέκνοις αὐτῶν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἥρξαντο οἱ γίγαντες κατεσθίειν τὰς
σάρκας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

4QEn^a

שמי חזה אלה חב[רו
 ב[שמו וחרטמו ותנש[ין
 נ[חשי בוכבין ויקא[ל
 שם[שיאל אלה נחשי ש[מש
 לגל[ין ה רזין לנשיהן

4QEn^b

[חרש ל
 א[לה נחשי בוכ[בין
 ארע[תקף אלה נחש[י
 [וכולהון שרין[ו] לגליה]

Notes:

EMML 36 *ወበርቅዓል* instead of *ወበረቀዓል*
ወአኪሴኦል instead of *ወኮከብኦል*
ወጣሚኦል instead of *ወጥምዔል*
ራእየ instead of *ርእየ*

EMML 1768 *አጄዚራስ* instead of *አጄዛራክ* - unclear
 omits *ከኣሉ*
ሥራያት instead of *ሥርዋት*
ወአርማሮስ instead of *አርማሮስ*

EMML 1950 *አማዛራክ* instead of *አጄዛራክ*
ሰብአታተ instead of *ሰብዓታተ*
ረዓይያ instead of *ረዓይነ*
ወጥምኦል instead of *ወጥምዔል*
ራዕየ instead of *ርእየ*

ወአስራኤል instead of ወአስራድኤል

EMML 2080 ወአሜዛራስ instead of አሜዛራክ

omits ከላ-

መስብዓያነ ፣ ወመተርያነ instead of መሳብዕያነ ፣ ወመታርያነ

ወአርማሮስ instead of አርማሮስ

ወበራቅያል instead of ወበረቀዓል

ወኮከሮኤል instead of ወኮከብኤል

ወጠምኤል instead of ወጥምኤል

ወአስድርኤል instead of ወአስራድኤል

EMML 2436 አሜዚራስ instead of አሜዛራክ

omits ከላ-

ስርው instead of ሥርዋት

ወአርማሮስ instead of አርማሮስ

ወበራቅያል instead of ወበረቀዓል

ወጥምኤል instead of ወጥምኤል

አስድርኤል instead of ወአስራድኤል

EMML 2440 ረአይያነ instead of ርእየ

ርደተ instead of ሩፀተ

1 Enoch 8:4

Notes:

EMML 1950 ወበጎጉላተ instead of ወበሕጉላተ

EMML 2080 ወበጉሕለተ instead of ወበሕጉላተ

EMML 2436 ገዓሮሙ instead of ቃለሙ

1 Enoch 9:1

Ge'ez

ወላጄሃ ፣ ሐወጹ ፣ ሚካኤል ፣ ወገብርኤል ፣ ሱርያን ፣ ወኡርያን ፣
እምሰማይ ፣ ወርእዩ ፣ ብዙኃ ፣ ደመ ፣ ዘይትከዓው ፣ በዲበ ፣ ምድ-
ር (a) ፣ ወከላሎ ፣ ዓመዓ ፣ ዘይትገበር ፣ በዲበ ፣ ምድር ።

Underlined section is omitted in the main body of the text, but noted at the top of the page.

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

τότε παρ[α]κύψαντες Μιχαήλ καὶ Οὐ[ρι]ήλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ καὶ
Γαβριή[λ] οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεάσ[αν]το αἶμα πολὺ
ἐκχυννόμεν[ον] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι Μιχαήλ καὶ
Οὐριήλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ παρέκυψαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν
ἀγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι Μιχαήλ καὶ
Οὐριήλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ παρέκυψαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν
ἀγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Aramaic

[רפאל ו] [אדיק מיכאל]

4QEn^a

מן קדם] [דם סני]

אתמלית] ו[חמסה די]

מי]כאל ישריא]

4QEn^b

Notes:

EMML 36 **አሜሃ** instead of **ወአሜሃ**
ሱርያል ፣ **ወኡራኤል** instead of **ሱርያን** ፣ **ወኡርያን**

EMML 1768 (a) inserts ታሕተ

EMML 1950 **ወሱርያን** instead of **ሱርያን**

EMML 2080 **ወሱርኤል** ፣ **ወኡርያል** instead of **ሱርያን** ፣ **ወኡርያን**
ዘይትከዐው instead of **ዘይትከዓው**
ዐመዓ instead of **ዓመዓ**

EMML 2436 **ወሱራኤል** ፣ **ወገብርኤል** instead of **ወገብርኤል** ፣ **ሱርያን**
ወኡርያል instead of **ወኡርያን**

EMML 2440 **አሜሃ** instead of **ወአሜሃ**
ወሱርያን instead of **ሱርያን**

1 Enoch 9:2

Ge'ez

ወይቤሉ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ ቃለ ፣ ጽራጋቲሆሙ ፣ ዕራቃ ፣ ጸርሐት ፣
ምድር ፣ እስከ ፣ አንቀጽ ፣ ሰማይ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς] ἀλλήλους φωνὴ βοῶντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι
πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ θεασάμενοι αἷμα πολὺ ἐκκεχυμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσαν
ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀνομίαν γενομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς,

Syncellus^b:

καὶ θεασάμενοι αἷμα πολὺ ἐκκεχυμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶσαν
ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν γινομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς,

Aramaic

ואמרו קדם]יהי

4QEn^a

תרעי שמי]ה

Notes:

EMML 36 ~~ጽሑፊ~~ instead of ~~ጽሑፍ~~

EMML 1768 ~~ጽሑፍ~~ instead of ~~ጽሑፍ~~

EMML 2080 ~~ጽሑፍ~~ instead of ~~ጽሑፍ~~

EMML 2436 ~~ጽሑፍ~~ instead of ~~ጽሑፍ~~

1 Enoch 9:3

Ge'ez

ወይእዜኒ ፣ ለክሙ ፣ አቅዱሳነ ፣ ሰማይ ፣ ይሰከዩ ፣ ነፍሳተ ፣ ሰብእ
፣ እንዘ ፣ ይብሉ ፣ ኦብኑ ፣ ለነ ፣ ፍቅሐ ፣ ኀቦ ፣ ልዑል ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

ἐντυγχάνουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων λεγόντων Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν κρίσιν ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστ[ον].

Syncellus^a:

εἰσελθόντες εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι Τὰ πνεύματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων στενάζουσιν ἐν τυγχάνοντα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν κρίσιν ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων πάντων τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ.

Syncellus^b:

εἰσελθόντες εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι Τὰ πνεύματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐντυγχάνουσι στενάζοντα καὶ λέγοντα Εἰσαγάγετε
τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον.

Aramaic

4QEn^a די קבלון

Notes:

EMML 1768 በለሙ ፣ ለቅዱሳን instead of ለክሙ ፣ አቅዱሳን
ነፍሰ instead of ነፍሳተ

EMML 1950 ቅዱሳን instead of አቅዱሳን

EMML 2080 ቅዱሳን instead of አቅዱሳን
ገበ ፣ ልዑል precedes አብኦ ፣ ለነ ፣ ፍትሐ

EMML 2436 ገበ ፣ ልዑል precedes አብኦ ፣ ለነ ፣ ፍትሐ

1 Enoch 9:4

Ge'ez

ወይቤሉ ፣ ለእግዚአሙ ፣ ንጉሥ ፣ እስመ ፣ እግዚአሙ ፣ ለአጋእዝት
፣ ወእምላኮሙ ፣ ለእማልክት ፣ ወንጉሦሙ ፣ ለነገሥት ፣ ወመንበረ ፣
ስብሐቲሁ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ትውልደ ፣ ዓለም ፣ ወስምክ ፣ ቅዱስ
፣ ወስቡሕ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ትውልደ (a) ፣ ዓለም ፣ ወቡሩክ ፣
ወስቡሕ (b) ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ εἶπα[ν] τῷ κυρίῳ Σὺ εἶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν
θεῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων· ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάσας
τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μέγα καὶ
εὐλογητὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Syncellus^a:

καὶ εἶπον τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν αἰώνων Σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος
τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ θεὸς τῶν
αἰώνων καὶ ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν
αἰώνων καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἅγιον καὶ εὐλογημένον εἰς πάντας τοὺς
αἰῶνας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. τότε ὁ ὕψιστος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἁγίοις
ἀρχαγγέλοις καὶ ἔδησαν τοὺς ἐξάρχους αὐτῶν καὶ ἔβαλον αὐτοὺς
εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἕως τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ
Ἐνὼχ μαρτυρεῖ.

καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἀρχάγγελοι εἶπον τῷ κυρίῳ Σὺ εἶ
θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν
βασιλευόντων καὶ θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου
εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἅγιον καὶ
εὐλογημένον εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

4QEn^b [מַרְנָא רַבִּי א] יֵא מַרְא עֲלֵמָא
 לְבַל
 בּוֹרְסָא] יִקְרֹךְ דֵּר דְּרִיא דִּי מִן עֲלֵמָא

EMML 36 ለእግዚአሙ instead of ለእግዚአሙ
እግዚአሙ instead of እግዚአሙ
omits ወለምከ ፣ ቅዱስ ፣ ወለቡሕ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ኩሉ ፣
ትውልደ ፣ ዓለም ፣ ው-

EMML 2080 ለእግዚአሙን instead of ለእግዚአሙን
እግዚአሙን instead of እግዚአሙን
መንበረ ፣ ሰብሐቲክ instead of መመንበረ ፣ ሰብሐቲሁ
(a) omits ትውልደ

EMML 2440 $\Delta 37^\circ$ instead of 37°

1 Enoch 9:5

Ge'ez

አንተ ፣ ገበርከ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ወሥልጣነ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ምስሌከ ፣ ወኩሉ ፣
ከሠት ፣ በቅድሜከ ፣ ወግሁድ ፣ ወአንተ ፣ ትሬኢ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ወአል
ቦ ፣ ዘይትከሀል ፣ ይትጋባእ ፣ እምኔከ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

σὺ γὰρ ἐποίησας τὰ πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ
πάντα ἐνώπιόν σου φανερὰ καὶ ἀκάλυπτα.

Syncellus^b:

σὺ γὰρ εἰ ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ
πάντα ἐνώπιόν σου φανερὰ καὶ ἀκάλυπτα· καὶ πάντα ὁρᾷ καὶ
οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ κρυβῆναί σε δύναται.

Notes:

EMML 36 ቅድሜከ instead of በቅድሜከ

EMML 1950 ቅድሜከ instead of በቅድሜከ
ዘይትከሀል instead of ዘይትከሀል

EMML 2080 ቅድሜከ instead of በቅድሜከ

EMML 2436 ወአንተ instead of አንተ

EMML 2440 ቅድሜከ instead of በቅድሜከ

1 Enoch 9:6

Ge'ez

ርኢኬ ፣ ዘገብረ ፣ አዛዝኤል ፣ ዘከመ ፣ መሀረ ፣ ከኡሉ ፣ ዓመፃ ፣
በዲበ ፣ ምድር ፣ ወአግሃደ ፣ ገቡአተ ፣ ዓለም ፣ እለ ፣ ይትገበራ ፣
በሰማያት ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ πάντα σὺ ὁρᾷς ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἀζαήλ ὃς ἐδίδαξεν πάσας τὰς
ἀδικίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδήλωσεν τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ αἰῶνος τὰ ἐν
τῷ οὐρανῷ ἃ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἔγνωσαν ἄνθρωποι.

Syncellus^b:

ὁρᾷς ὅσα ἐποίησεν Ἀζαήλ καὶ ὅσα εἰσήνεγκεν ὅσα ἐδίδαξεν
ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα δόλον ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς.
ἐδίδαξε γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ αἰῶνι τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ.
ἐπιτηδεύουσιν δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι τὰ μυστήρια οἱ
υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Notes:

EMML 36 ወአግሀደ ፣ ጎቡአተ instead of ወአግሃደ ፣ ጎቡአተ

EMML 1768 ወአግሀዱ instead of ወአግሃደ

EMML 1950 ዘመሐረ instead of ዘከመ ፣ መሀረ
ወአግሀደ instead of ወአግሃደ

EMML 2080 አዘዜኤል instead of አዛዝኤል
ዐመፃ instead of ዓመፃ
ወአግሀደ ፣ ጎቡአተ instead of ወአግሃደ ፣ ጎቡአተ

EMML 2436 አመፃ instead of ዓመፃ
ወአግሀደ instead of ወአግሃደ

EMML 2440 ወአግሀደ instead of ወአግሃደ

1 Enoch 9:7

Ge'ez

ወአመረ ፣ ስብዓታተ ፣ ስምያዛ ፣ ዘአንተ ፣ ወሀብኮ ፣ ሥልጣነ (a)
፣ ይኩንን ፣ እለ ፣ ምስሌሁ ፣ ኅቡረ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ Σεμιαζᾶς ᾧ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκας ἄρχειν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα
ὄντων.

Syncellus^b:

τῷ Σεμιαζᾷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκας ἔχειν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων.

Notes:

EMML 36 ስብአታተ instead of ስብዓታተ
omits ኅቡረ

EMML 1768 አመረ instead of ወአመረ
ስብእ instead of ስብዓታተ

EMML 2080 ስብአታተ ፣ ስምያዘ instead of ስብዓታተ ፣ ስምያዛ
ወሀብኮ instead of ወሀብኮ

EMML 2436 ወስምያዛ ፣ አመረ ፣ ስብአታተ
instead of ወአመረ ፣ ስብዓታተ ፣ ስምያዛ
ኅቡረ occurs following ይኩንን

EMML 2440 (a) inserts ከመ

1 Enoch 9:8

Ge'ez

ወሐሩ ፣ ኀብ ፣ አዋልደ ፣ ሰብአ ፣ ኀብረ ፣ ወሰከቡ ፣ ምስሌሆን ፣
ምስለ ፣ እልኩ ፣ አንስት ፣ ወረኩሱ ፣ ወአግህዱ ፣ ሉን ፣ እሉንተ
፣ ኃጣውአ ።

Underlined word is omitted but noted above the line.

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς καὶ
συνεκοιμήθησαν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐμίανθησαν καὶ ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς
πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς καὶ
συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμίανθησαν καὶ
ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἐδίδαξαν αὐτὰς
μίσητρα ποιεῖν.

Notes:

EMML 36 ወሐሩ instead of ወሐሩ
 ኀብረ instead of ኀብረ
 ወአግሃዱ instead of ወአግህዱ

EMML 1768 omits ኀብረ
 ሉቱ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ኃጢአተ
 instead of ሉን ፣ እሉንተ ፣ ኃጣውአ

EMML 1950 ወሐሩ instead of ወሐሩ

EMML 2080 ወሐሩ instead of ወሐሩ
ከላሎ ፣ ገጢአተ instead of እሎንተ ፣ ኃጣውአ

EMML 2436 omits ገቡረ
ወአግሃዱ instead of ወአግሀዱ
ከላሎ ፣ ኃጢአተ instead of እሎንተ ፣ ኃጣውአ

EMML 2440 ወሐሩ instead of ወሐሩ
ለእልኩቱ instead of ምስለ ፣ እልኩ

1 Enoch 9:9

Ge'ez

ወኣንስትኒ ፣ ወለዳ ፣ ረዓይተ ፣ ወበዝ ፣ መልአት ፣ ኩላ ፣ ምድር
፣ ደመ ፣ ወዓመዓ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγέννησαν τιτᾶνας ὑφ' ὧν ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἐπλήσθη
αἵματος καὶ ἀδικίας.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ αἱ θυγατέρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔτεκον ἐξ αὐτῶν υἱοὺς
γίγαντας· κίβδηλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκέχυται καὶ ὅλη ἡ
γῆ ἐπλήσθη ἀδικίας.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ወኣንስትሰ instead of ወኣንስትኒ
በዝ instead of ወበዝ
ኩሉ instead of ኩላ

EMML 1950 ወኣንስትሰ instead of ወኣንስትኒ

EMML 2080 ወኣንስትሰ instead of ወኣንስትኒ
ወዐመዓ instead of ወዓመዓ

EMML 2436 ወልደ instead of ወለዳ
በዝመልዓት instead of ወበዝ ፣ መልአት

EMML 2440 ረኣይተ instead of ረዓይተ

1 Enoch 9:10

Ge'ez

ይእዜኒ ፣ ናሁ ፣ ይጸርሑ ፣ ነፍሳት ፣ እለ ፣ ሞቱ ፣ ወይሰከዩ ፣
እስከ ፣ አንቀጸ ፣ ሰማይ ፣ ወዓርገ ፣ ገዓሮሙ ፣ ወኢይክሉ ፣ ወዒኣ
፣ እምቅድመ ፣ ገጸ ፣ ዓመፃ ፣ ዘይትገበር ፣ በዲበ ፣ ምድር ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ βοῶσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων καὶ
ἐντυγχάνουσιν μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ
στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς γινομένων ἀνομημάτων.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐντυγχάνουσιν καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνέβη ὁ
στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς γινομένων ἀδικημάτων.

Notes:

EMML 36 ወይእዜኒ instead of ይእዜኒ
 ገዐሮሙ instead of ገዓሮሙ

EMML 1768 ነፍሰ instead of ነፍሳት
እሉ instead of እለ
ወኢይክል instead of ወኢይክሉ

EMML 1950 ወይእዜኒ instead of ይእዜኒ
ገዐሮሙ instead of ገዓሮሙ

EMML 2080 ወይእዜኒ instead of ይእዜኒ
ነፍሳተ instead of ነፍሳት
ወዐርገ instead of ወዓርገ
ዐመፃ instead of ዓመፃ

EMML 2436 ወይእዜኒ instead of ይእዜኒ
ወአርገ instead of ወዓርገ
አመፃ instead of ዓመፃ

EMML 2440 ወይእዜኒ instead of ይእዜኒ
ወዐርገ instead of ወዓርገ

1 Enoch 9:11

Ge'ez

ወእንተ ፣ ተአምር ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ዘእንበለ ፣ ይኩን (a) ፣ ወእንተ ፣
ተአምር ፣ ዘንተ ፣ ወዘዚአሆሙ ፣ ወአለቦ ፣ ዘትነግረነ ፣ ወምንት ፣
መፍትሔ ፣ ንረስዮሙ ፣ በእንተ ፣ ዝንቱ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ σὺ πάντα οἶδας πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὰ γενέσθαι καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς ταῦτα
καὶ ἔῃς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμῖν λέγεις τί δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ
τούτων.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ σὺ αὐτὰ οἶδας πρὸ τῶν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι καὶ ὁρᾷς αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἔῃς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν λέγεις τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς περὶ τούτου.

Notes:

EMML 36 omits underlined section but notes following at top of page:
እንተ ፣ ተአምር ፣ ዘእንበለ ፣ ይኩን ፣ ወ
ንሬስዮሙ instead of ንረስዮሙ

EMML 1768 ታአምር instead of ተአምር (both times)
(a) inserts ወእንተ ፣ ታአምር ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ዘእንበ ፣ ይኩን

EMML 2080 ዝትነግረነ instead of ዘትነግረነ

EMML 2440 ወምንተ instead of ወምንት

1 Enoch 10:1

Ge'ez

ወኣሜሃ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ተናገረ ፡ ወፈነዎ ፡ ለኦርሰ
የላልዩር ፡ ጎበ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ላሜህ ፡ ወይቤሉ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

Τότε Ὑψιστος εἶπεν περὶ τούτων ὁ μέγας Ἅγιος καὶ ἐλάλησεν
καὶ εἶπεν καὶ ἔπεμψεν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Λέμεχ.

Syncellus^b:

Τότε ὁ ὕψιστος εἶπε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας ἐλάλησε καὶ ἔπεμψε τὸν
Οὐριήλ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Λάμεχ λέγων·

Notes:

EMML 36 ወዓቢይ instead of ዐቢይ

EMML 1950 ለኦርሰየላልዩር instead of ለኦርሰየላልዩር

EMML 2080 ኣሜሃ instead of ወኣሜሃ
ወዐቢይ instead of ዐቢይ
ለኦልሰነዩርዩስ instead of ለኦርሰየላልዩር

EMML 2436 ኣሜሃ instead of ወኣሜሃ
omits ዐቢይ

EMML 2440 ወዐቢይ instead of ዐቢይ
omits ወይቤሉ

1 Enoch 10:2

Ge'ez

በሉ ፣ በስመ ፣ ዚአየ ፣ ጎባእ ፣ ርእሰከ ፣ ወአግህድ ፣ ሉቲ ፣ ፍጻ
ሜ ፣ ዘይመጽእ ፣ እስመ ፣ ትትሐጉል ፣ ምድር ፣ ኩላ (a) ፣ ወማየ
፣ አይጎ ፣ ይመጽእ ፣ ሀሉ ፣ ዲበ ፣ ኩላ (b) ፣ ምድር ፣ ወይትጋጉ
ል (c) ፣ ዘሀሉ ፣ ውስቴታ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

Εἶπον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι Κρύψον σεαυτὸν καὶ δῆλωσον
αὐτῷ τέλος ἐπερχόμενον ὅτι ἡ γῆ ἀπόλλυται πᾶσα καὶ
κατακλυσμὸς μέλλει γίνεσθαι πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντα
ὅσα ἐστὶν [ἐν] αὐτῇ.

Syncellus^b:

Πορεύου πρὸς τὸν Νῶε καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι Κρύψον
σεαυτὸν καὶ δῆλωσον αὐτῷ τέλος ἐπερχόμενον ὅτι ἡ γῆ
ἀπόλλυται πᾶσα· καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι κατακλυσμὸς μέλλει
γίνεσθαι πάσης τῆς γῆς, ἀπολέσαι πάντα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

Notes:

EMML 36 ትትኃጉል instead of ትትሐጉል
(a) ኩላ ፣ ምድር instead of ምድር ፣ ኩላ

EMML 1950 ፍጻሜ instead of ፍጻሜ
ትትኃጉል instead of ትትሐጉል
ይምጸእ instead of ይመጽእ
(b) ኩሉ instead of ኩላ

EMML 2080 ለመጉ instead of ለቱ
ይትሐጉል instead of ትትሐጉል
ኩሉ instead of ኩላ (both times)
ወይትሐጉል instead of ወይትኃጉል
(c) inserts ኩሉ

EMML 2436 (b) ኩሉ instead of ኩላ
ወይትሐጉል instead of ወይትኃጉል

EMML 2440 ለመጉ instead of ለቱ but corrected to ለቱ beneath line
(a) omits ኩላ
ወይትሐጉል instead of ወይትኃጉል

1 Enoch 10:3

Ge'ez

ወይሊኬኒ ፣ መሀሮ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይንፍጽ ፣ ወይንበር ፣ ዘርኡ ፣ ለኩሉ
፣ ምድር ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ δίδαξον αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐκφύγη καὶ μενεῖ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἰς
πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Syncellus^b:

δίδαξον τὸν δίκαιον τί ποιήσει τὸν υἱὸν Λάμεχ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
αὐτοῦ εἰς ζωὴν συντηρήσει καὶ ἐκφεύξεται δι' αἰῶνος καὶ ἐξ
αὐτοῦ φυτευθήσεται φύτευμα καὶ σταθήσεται πάσας τὰς γενεὰς
τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ለኩሉሙ ፣ ትውልድ instead of ለኩሉ ፣ ምድር

EMML 2080 መሀሮ instead of መሀሮ

ለኩሉሙ ፣ ትውልድ instead of ለኩሉ ፣ ምድር

1 Enoch 10:4

Ge'ez

ወይቤሎ ፣ ካዕበ ፣ እግዚእ ፣ ለሩፉኤል ፣ ዕሥሮ ፣ ለእዛዝኤል ፣
በእደዊሁ ፣ ወበእገሪሁ ፣ ወደዮ ፣ ውስተ ፣ ጽልመት ፣ ወእብቅዋ
፣ ለገዳም ፣ እንተ ፣ ሀለወት ፣ በዱዳኤል ፣ ወደዮ ፣ ህዩ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ τῷ Ῥαφαήλ εἶπεν Δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαήλ ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν καὶ
βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ ἄνοιξον τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν
τῷ Δαδουήλ κάκει βάλε αὐτὸν.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ τῷ Ῥαφαήλ εἶπε Πορεύου Ῥαφαήλ καὶ δῆσον τὸν Ἀζαήλ
χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ συμπόδισον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔμβαλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος
καὶ ἄνοιξον τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Δουδαήλ καὶ ἐκεῖ
πορευθεὶς βάλε αὐτόν.

Notes:

EMML 36 እግዚእ ፣ ካዕበ instead of ካዕበ ፣ እግዚእ
ወእገሪሁ instead of ወበእገሪሁ

EMML 1950 በእደሁ instead of በእደዊሁ

EMML 2080 ለአዛዜኤል instead of ለአዛዝኤል

በእደሁ ፣ ወበእግሩ instead of በእደዊሁ ፣ ወበእገሪሁ
በዱዳልፆ instead of በዱዳኤል

EMML 2436 በእደሁ ፣ ወበእገሩ instead of በእደዊሁ ፣ ወበእገሪሁ

EMML 2440 በእደሁ ፣ ወእገሪሁ instead of በእደዊሁ ፣ ወበእገሪሁ

1 Enoch 10:5

Ge'ez

ወደይ ፣ ሳዕሌሁ ፣ አዕባኅ ፣ ጠዋያተ ፣ ወበሊህተ ፣ ወክድኖ (a) ፣
ጽልመተ ፣ ወህየ ፣ ይኅድር ፣ ለዓለም ፣ ወክድኖ ፣ ለገጹ ፣ ከመ
፣ ኢይርአይ ፣ ብርሃኑ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ὑπόθεσ αὐτῷ λίθους τραχεῖς καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ
τὸ σκότος καὶ οἰκησάτω ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ
πώμασον καὶ φῶς μὴ θεωρεῖτω.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ὑπόθεσ αὐτῷ λίθους ὀξεῖς καὶ λίθους τραχεῖς καὶ ἐπικάλυψον
αὐτῷ σκότος καὶ οἰκησάτω ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν
αὐτοῦ πώμασον καὶ φῶς μὴ θεωρεῖτω.

Notes:

EMML 36 omits ከመ

EMML 2080 እብኅ instead of አዕባኅ
ወበሊሖተ instead of ወበሊህተ
(a) inserts ውስተ
ጽልመት instead of ጽልመተ

EMML 2436 ወበሊሃተ instead of ወበሊህተ

1 Enoch 10:6

Ge'ez

ወበዕለት ፣ ዓባይ ፣ እንተ ፣ ከኣኒኔ ፣ ከመ ፣ ይትፈነው ፣ ውለተ ፣
ዋዕይ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεγάλης τῆς κρίσεως ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν
ἐνπυρισμόν.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐμπυρισμόν τοῦ
πυρός.

Notes:

EMML 1950 ዐባይ instead of ዓባይ

EMML 2080 በዕለት instead of ወበዕለት
ዐባይ instead of ዓባይ

EMML 2436 በዕለት instead of ወበዕለት

1 Enoch 10:7

Ge'ez

ወሐሕይዋ ፣ ለምድር ፣ እንተ ፣ አማሰንዋ ፣ መላእክት ፣ ወሐይወታ
፣ ለምድር ፣ አይድዕ ፣ ከመ ፣ አሐይዋ ፣ ለምድር^(a) ፣ ወኢይትኃጉሉ
፣ ኩሉሙ ፣ ውሉደ ፣ ሰብእ ^(b) ፣ በምሥጢረ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ዘቀተሉ ፣
ትጉሃን ፣ ወመሀሩ ፣ ለውሉደሙ ።

Underlined word is omitted but noted above the line.

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἰαθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἣν ἠφάνισαν οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ τὴν ἵασιν τῆς γῆς
δήλωσον ἵνα ἰάσωνται τὴν πληγὴν ἵνα μὴ ἀπόλωνται πάντες οἱ
υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ ὅλῳ ᾧ ἐπέταξαν οἱ ἐγρήγοροι
καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ἵασαι τὴν γῆν ἣν ἠφάνισαν οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ τὴν ἵασιν τῆς
πληγῆς δήλωσον ἵνα ἰάσωνται τὴν πληγὴν καὶ μὴ ἀπόλωνται
πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ ὃ εἶπον οἱ
ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Notes:

- EMML 36 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
(a) omits ለምድር
omits ኩሉም
(b) inserts ኩሉ
ትጉሃን ፣ ዘቀተሉ instead of ዘቀተሉ ፣ ትጉሃን
- EMML 1768 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
ያሕይዋ instead of አሐይዋ
ወኢይትሐጉሉ instead of ወኢይትኃጉሉ
- EMML 1950 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
- EMML 2080 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
ወኢይትሐጉሉ instead of ወኢይትኃጉሉ
ኩሉ instead of ኩሉ
- EMML 2436 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
ወኢይትሐጉሉ instead of ወኢይትኃጉሉ
ለምስጢረ instead of በምስጢረ
- EMML 2440 አማሰኑ instead of አማሰንዋ
ወኢይትሐጉሉ instead of ወኢይትኃጉሉ
ትጉሐን instead of ትጉሃን

1 Enoch 10:8

Ge'ez

ወማሰነት ፣ ኩላ ፣ ምድር ፣ በትምህርተ ፣ ግብሩ ፣ ለእዛዝኤል ፣
ወላዕሌሁ ፣ ጸሐፍ ፣ ኩሎ ፣ ኃጢአተ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἡρημώθη πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανισθεῖσα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς
διδασκαλίας Ἀζαήλ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γράψον τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάσας.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ἡρημώθη πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας Ἀζαήλ
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ γράψον πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ለእዛዜኤል instead of ለእዛዝኤል

EMML 2080 ለእዛዜኤል instead of ለእዛዝኤል
ኃጢአተ instead of ኃጢአተ

EMML 2440 omits ኩላ

1 Enoch 10:9

Ge'ez

ወለገብርኤል ፣ ደቤሎ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ሐር ፣ ዲቤሆሙ ፣ ለመንዚራን ፣ ወለምኑናን ፣ ወዲበ (a) ፣ ውሉደ ፣ ዘማ ፣ ወእሕገኡሎሙ ፣ ለውሉደ ፣ ዘማ ፣ ወለውሉደ ፣ ትጉሃን ፣ እምሰብእ ፣ ወእውፅእሙ ፣ ወፈንዎሙ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ እሙንቱ ፣ ወለሊሆሙ ፣ በቀትል ፣ ደትጋጉሉ ፣ እስመ ፣ ኑጋ ፣ መዋዕል ፣ አልቦሙ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ τῷ Γαβριὴλ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος Πορεύου ἐπὶ τοὺς μαζηρέους ἐπὶ τοὺς κιβδήλους καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς πορνείας καὶ ἀπόλεσον τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· πέμψον αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπωλείας. μακρότης γὰρ ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ τῷ Γαβριὴλ εἶπε Πορεύου Γαβριὴλ ἐπὶ τοὺς γίγαντας, ἐπὶ τοὺς κιβδήλους, ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς πορνείας καὶ ἀπόλεσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· πέμψον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ. καὶ μακρότης ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἔσται αὐτοῖς.

Notes:

- EMML 36 (a) inserts ה־א
omits ወአሕገሉሙ ፣ ለውሉደ ፣ ዘማ
- EMML 1768 እግዚእ instead of እግዚአብሔር
ሐር instead of ሐር
በበ ፣ በይናቲሆሙ instead of በበይናቲሆሙ
ይትሐገሉ instead of ይትጋጉሉ
- EMML 2080 እግዚእ instead of እግዚአብሔር
ሐር instead of ሐር
ይትሐገሉ instead of ይትጋጉሉ
- EMML 2436 ወእሙንቱ ፣ ለሊሆሙ instead of እሙንቱ ፣ ወለሊሆሙ
ይትሐገሉ instead of ይትጋጉሉ
ኑጎ instead of ኑጋ
- EMML 2440 ትጉሐን instead of ትጉሃን
በቀትል ፣ ወለሊሆሙ instead of ወለሊሆሙ ፣ በቀትል
ይትሐገሉ instead of ይትጋጉሉ
ኑጎ instead of ኑጋ

1 Enoch 10:10

Ge'ez

ወኩሉሙ ፣ ደሰሉኩ ፣ ወኢይከውን ፣ ለአበዊሆሙ ፣ በእንቲአሆሙ
፣ እስመ ፣ ደሴፈጢ (a) ፣ አይወተ ፣ ዘለዓለም ፣ ወከመ ፣ ደሕየው
፣ አይወተ (b) ፣ ፩፩እምኔሆሙ ፣ ፩፻ከራማተ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ πᾶσα ἐρώτησις [οὐκ] ἔσται τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ
αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐλπίζουσιν ζῆσαι ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ ὅτι ζήσεται
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔτη πεντακόσια.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ πᾶσα ἐρώτησις οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐλπίζουσι
ζῆσαι ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ ὅτι ζήσεται ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔτη
πεντακόσια.

Notes:

EMML 36 omits አይወተ^(b)

EMML 1768 ወኩሉ instead of ወኩሉሙ
ወይኩን instead of ወኢይከውን
omits አይወተ^(b)

EMML 1950 ደሴፈው instead of ደሴፈጢ

EMML 2080 ወኩሉ ፣ ይሴእሉክ instead of ወኩሉሙ ፣ ይሰእሉክ
ይሕይው instead of ይሕየው
omits ሕይወተ^(b)
፭፻ክረምተ instead of ፭፻ክራማተ

EMML 2436 ይሴፈው instead of ይሴፈዉ
(a) inserts of ይሕየው
omits ሕይወተ^(b)

EMML 2440 omits ሕይወተ^(b)

1 Enoch 10:11

Ge'ez

ወለሚካኤል ፣ ደቤሉ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ፣ ሑር ፣ አይድዕ ፣ ለስምያዛ ፣
ወለካልአን ፣ እለ ፣ ምስሌሁ ፣ እለ ፣ ጎብሩ ፣ ምስለ ፣ አንስት ፣ ከመ ፣
ይማስኑ ፣ ምስሌሆን ፣ በኩሉ ፣ ርኩሰ ፣ ዚአሆን ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ πορεύου καὶ δῆλωσον Σεμιαζᾶ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ταῖς γυναῖξιν μιγεῖσιν μιανθῆναι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν
ἀκαθαρσίᾳ αὐτῶν.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ τῷ Μιχαὴλ εἶπε Πορεύου Μιχαὴλ δῆσον Σεμιαζᾶν καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς συμμιγέντας ταῖς θυγατράσι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τοῦ μιανθῆναι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ αὐτῶν.

Aramaic

דִּי אַתְתָּבְרִין [לִיבְלִין א[4QEn^b

Notes:

- EMML 36 ኃብሩ instead of ጎብሩ
- EMML 1768 እግዚእ instead of እግዚአብሔር
ሐር instead of ሐር
- EMML 1950 አይድእ instead of አይድፅ
ወለካልዓን instead of ወለካልእን
ርኩሰ instead of ርኩሰ
- EMML 2080 እግዚእ instead of እግዚአብሔር
ሐር instead of ሐር
ለስሚያዛ instead of ለስምያዛ
omits ጎብሩ
- EMML 2436 ኃብሩ instead of ጎብሩ
- EMML 2440 ወለካልዓን instead of ወለካልእን
ኃብሩ instead of ጎብሩ

1 Enoch 10:12

Ge'ez

ሶበ ፣ ይትራገዙ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ውሉዶሙ ፣ ወሶበ ፣ ይሬእዩ ፣ ጎገላሙ
፣ ለፍቁራኒሆሙ ፣ እስሮሙ ፣ ለ፪ትውልድ ፣ በመትሕተ ፣ አውግረ ፣
ምድር ፣ እስከ ፣ ዕለተ ፣ ከኅነህሆሙ ፣ ወተፍጻሜቶሙ ፣ እስከ ፣ ይ
ትፌጸም ፣ ከኅነህ ፣ ዘለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ὅταν κατασφαγῶσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἴδωσιν τὴν ἀπώλειαν
τῶν ἀγαπητῶν καὶ δῆσον αὐτοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα γενεὰς εἰς τὰς
νάπας τῆς γῆς μέχρι ἡμέρας κρίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ συντελεσμοῦ ἕως
τελεσθῇ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ὅταν κατασφαγῶσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἴδωσι τὴν ἀπώλειαν
τῶν ἀγαπητῶν αὐτῶν δῆσον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἑβδομήκοντα γενεὰς εἰς
τὰς νάπας τῆς γῆς μέχρι ἡμέρας κρίσεως αὐτῶν, μέχρι ἡμέρας
τελειώσεως τελεσμοῦ, ἕως συντελεσθῇ κρίμα τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν
αἰώνων.

יבדון בניהון וין[]שבצעין[4QEn^b
[ארעא עד יומא רב]א

Notes:

- EMML 36 אִלְחָל ִּ: תִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
- EMML 1768 דִּרְנ instead of רְנ
 ִּלְ ִּ: תִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
- EMML 2080 דִּרְנ instead of רְנ
 אִלְחָל ִּ: תִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
- EMML 2436 דִּרְנ instead of רְנ
 omits חֲלִ
 אִלְחָל ִּ: תִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
- EMML 2440 חֲלִ־ instead of חֲלִ
 אִלְחָלִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
 אִלְחָל ִּ: תִּדְאָד instead of אִלְחָלִּדְאָד
 דִּתְחָלִּדְאָד instead of דִּתְחָלִּדְאָד

1 Enoch 10:13

Ge'ez

ወበውእቲ ፣ መዋዕል ፣ ይወስድዎሙ ፣ ውስተ ፣ መትሕተ ፣ እሳት ፣
በዓዕር ፣ ወበቤተ ፣ ሞቅሕ ፣ ይትዓፀፈ ፣ ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

τότε ἀπαχθήσονται εἰς τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εἰς τὴν βάσανον
καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνκλείσεως αἰῶνος.

Syncellus^b:

τότε ἀπενεχθήσονται εἰς τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εἰς τὴν βάσανον
καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῆς συγκλείσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Aramaic

. ܢܡܠ[ܝ

4QEn^c

Notes:

EMML 36 ~~ይትዓፀው~~ instead of ~~ይትዓፀዉ~~
ዘለዓለመ instead of ለዓለመ

EMML 1768 ~~ወይትዓጸው~~ instead of ~~ይትዓፀዉ~~
ለዓለም instead of ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም

EMML 1950 ለዓለም instead of ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም

EMML 2080 ~~ይትዐፀዉ~~ instead of ~~ይትዓፀዉ~~
ለዓለም instead of ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም

EMML 2436 ~~ወቤቤተ~~ instead of ~~ወበቤተ~~
ለዓለም instead of ለዓለመ ፣ ዓለም

1 Enoch 10:14

Ge'ez

ወሶቤሃ ፣ ደውሊ ፣ ወይማስን ፣ እምደእዜ ፣ ምስሌሆሙ ፣ ኅቡረ ፣
ይትዓሠሩ ፣ እስከ ፣ ተፍጻሜተ ፣ ትውልደ ፣ ትውልድ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ὅταν κατακαυθῇ καὶ ἀφανισθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μετ' αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ
δεθῇσονται μέχρι τελειώσεως γενεᾶς.

Syncellus^b:

καὶ ὅς ἂν κατακρίθῃ καὶ ἀφανισθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μετ' αὐτῶν
δεθῇσεται μέχρι τελειώσεως γενεᾶς αὐτῶν.

* C.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 10:14 for the extra
paragraphs which Syncellus inserts at this
point.

Aramaic

ובול די תן

4QEn^c

אדין יאבדון לבוןל

Notes:

EMML 36 እምይእዜሰ instead of እምይእዜ
ይትአሰሩ instead of ይትዓሠሩ

EMML 1768 ወሶበ instead of ወሶቤሃ
ይዊሂ instead of ይውሂ
እምይእዜሰ instead of እምይእዜ
ይትአሰሩ instead of ይትዓሠሩ
ተፍጻሜጥ instead of ተፍጻሜተ

EMML 2080 ይትአሰሩ instead of ይትዓሠሩ

EMML 2440 ይትአሠሩ instead of ይትዓሠሩ
ትውልድ instead of ትውልደ

1 Enoch 10:15

Ge'ez

ወኣኅገኡሉሙ ፣ ለከኡሉሙ ፣ ነፍሳተ ፣ ተውኔት ፣ ወለውሉዶሙ ፣
ለትጉሃን ፣ እስመ ፣ ገፍዕዎሙ ፣ ለሰብእ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

ἀπόλεσον πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν κιβδήλων καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν
ἐγρηγόρων διὰ τὸ ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ለከኡሉ instead of ለከኡሉሙ

EMML 2080 ለከኡሉ instead of ለከኡሉሙ
ነፍሰተ instead of ነፍሳተ

EMML 2436 አኣገኡሉሙ instead of ወኣኅገኡሉሙ

EMML 2440 ወኣኃገኡሉሙ instead of ወኣኅገኡሉሙ
ነፍሰተ instead of ነፍሳተ
ወለውሉዶሙኒ instead of ወለውሉዶሙ
ለትጉሐን instead of ለትጉሃን

1 Enoch 10:16

Ge'ez

አጎገላ ፣ ከሉ ፣ ግፍዓ ፣ እምገጸ ፣ ምድር ፣ ወከሉ ፣ ምግባር
፣ እኩይ ፣ የኃልቅ ፣ ወያስተርኢ ፣ ተክለ ፣ ጽድቅ ፣ ወርትዕ ፣
ወይከውን ፣ ለበረከት ፣ ግብር ፣ ጽድቅ ፣ ወርትዕ ፣ ለዓለም ፣ በ
ፍሥሐ ፣ ይተክሉ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἀπόλεσον τὴν ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶν ἔργον
πονηρίας ἐκλείπτω καὶ ἀναφανήτω τὸ φυτὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ
τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας μετὰ χαρᾶς φυτευθήσεται.

Aramaic

][אכרת עולה מ]

4QEn^c

נ]צבת קו שטא ותהו]א

Notes:

EMML 36 አጎገሱል instead of አጎገሱል
ምግባረ instead of ምግባር
ይጎልቅ instead of የጋልቅ

EMML 1768 ሐገሱል instead of አጎገሱል
ገፍፀ instead of ግፍዓ
ከሱሉ instead of ወከሱሉ
ምግባረ instead of ምግባር
ይሕልቅ instead of የጋልቅ
ግብረ instead of ግብር

EMML 1950 ይጎልቅ instead of የጋልቅ

EMML 2080 ይሕልቅ instead of የጋልቅ

EMML 2436 አሕገሱል instead of አጎገሱል
ግፍአ instead of ግፍዓ
ከሱሉ instead of ወከሱሉ
የሐልቅ instead of የጋልቅ

EMML 2440 አሕገሱል instead of አጎገሱል
ይሕልቅ instead of የጋልቅ

1 Enoch 10:17

Ge'ez

ወይእዜኒ ፣ ከኣሉሙ ፣ ጸድቃን ፣ ይገንዩ ፣ ወይከውኑ ፣ ሕያዋነ ፣
እስከ ፣ ይወልዱ ፣ ፲፫ ፣ ወከኣሉ ፣ መዋዕለ ፣ ውርዙቶሙ ፣ ወሰን
በተ ፣ ዚአሆሙ ፣ ይፈጽሙ ፣ በሰላም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ νῦν πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκφεύξονται καὶ ἔσονται ζῶντες ἕως
γεννήσωσιν χιλιάδας καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι νεότητος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ
σάββατα αὐτῶν μετὰ εἰρήνης πληρώσουσιν.

Aramaic

ובול יומי []ש[יטין יפלטון ולהון] 4QEn^c
ושיבתכון בשלם [י' שלם]

Notes:

EMML 36 ከኣሉሙ occurs after ጸድቃን ፣ ይገንዩ

EMML 1768 ከኣሉ instead of ከኣሉሙ
ይጐይዩ instead of ይገንዩ
ይፈጽም ፣ በሰላም instead of ይፈጽሙ ፣ በሰላም

EMML 1950 ጸድቃን instead of ጸድቃን

EMML 2080 blank space instead of ፲፫
ወከኣሉሙ instead of ወከኣሉ
ወሰንበታቲሆሙ instead of ወሰንበተ ፣ ዚአሆሙ

1 Enoch 10:18

Ge'ez

ወበእማንቱ ፣ መዋዕል ፣ ትትገበር ፣ ከኣ ፣ ምድር ፣ በጽድቅ ፣
ወከኣለንታሃ ፣ ትተክል ፣ ዕፀወ ፣ ወትመልዕ ፣ በረከተ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

τότε ἐργασθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ φυτευθήσεται
δένδρον ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πλησθήσεται εὐλογίας.

Aramaic

ב[רכה

ב[קושט ועל תתנ]צב

4QEnc

Notes:

EMML 2080 ከኣ instead of ከኣ

EMML 2436 ትተክል instead of ትተክል

EMML 2440 ትተክል instead of ትተክል

1 Enoch 10:19

Ge'ez

ወከሉ ፡ ዕፀወ ፡ ኃሄት ፡ ይተክሉ ፡ ዲቤሃ ፡ ወይተክሉ ፡ ዲቤሃ
፡ አውያነ ፡ ወወይን ፡ ዘይተክል ፡ ዲቤሃ ፡ ይገብር ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ለጽ
ጋብ ፡ ወከሉ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ ዘይዘራእ ፡ ዲቤሃ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ መስፈርት
፡ ትገብር ፡ እልፈ ፡ ወአሐቲ ፡ መስፈርተ ፡ ኤልያስ ፡ ትገብር ፡
፲፱ካያዳተ ፡ ዘይት ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα τῆς γῆς ἀγαλλιάσονται· φυτευθήσεται καὶ
ἔσονται φυτεύοντες ἀμπέλους καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος ἦν ἂν φυτεύσωσιν
ποιήσουσιν προχοῦς οἴνου χιλιάδας καὶ σπόρου ποιήσει καθ’
ἕκαστον μέτρον ἐλαίας ποιήσει ἀνὰ βάτους δέκα.

Aramaic

ובול אילנין

4QEn^c

[תתנצב בה

Notes:

- EMML 36 ሐሤት instead of ኃሤት
፪ instead of እልፈ
- EMML 1768 ሐሤት instead of ኃሤት
ወይን instead of ወወይን
ወይነ instead of ፍሬ
ኤልስ instead of ኤልያስ
፲ምክያደ instead of ፲ምክያዳተ
- EMML 1950 ይተክሉ instead of ይተክሉ
ወይተክሉ instead of ወይተክሉ
ዘይተክል instead of ዘይተክል
፲ምክያደተ instead of ፲ምክያዳተ
- EMML 2080 ወከሉ instead of ወከሉ
ሐሤት instead of ኃሤት
፪ instead of እልፈ
፲ምክያደ instead of ፲ምክያዳተ
- EMML 2436 ወከሉ instead of ወከሉ
ይተክሉ instead of ይተክሉ
ዘይተክሉ instead of ዘይተክል
ዘይዘርኑ instead of ዘይዘራኒ
፲ተ ፣ ምክያደተ instead of ፲ምክያዳተ
- EMML 2440 ዘይተክል instead of ዘይተክል
፲ምክያዳተ instead of ፲ምክያዳተ

1 Enoch 10:20

Ge'ez

ወእንተ ፣ አንጽሐ ፣ ለምድር ፣ እምከሩሉ ፣ ግፍዕ (a) ፣ ወእምከሩሉ (b)
፣ ዓመዓ ፣ ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ኃጢአት ፣ ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ረሲዕ ፣ ወእምከሩሉ
(c) ፣ ርከሩስ ፣ ዘይትገበር ፣ በዲበ ፣ ምድር ፣ አገልቆሙ ፣ እምዲበ
፣ ምድር ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ σὺ καθάρισον τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης
ἀδικίας καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ πάσας τὰς
ἀκαθαρσίας τὰς γινομένας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐξάλειψον.

Notes:

EMML 36 ወዓመዓ instead of ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ዓመዓ
ርከሩስ instead of ርከሩስ
ዲበ instead of በዲበ

EMML 2080 (a) inserts ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ርከሩስ
ዐመዓ instead of ዓመዓ
ኃጢአት instead of ኃጢአት
ርከሩስ instead of ርከሩስ
በዲበ instead of እምዲበ

EMML 2436 (b) እምከሩሉ instead of ወእምከሩሉ
(c) ወከሩሉ instead of ወእምከሩሉ

EMML 2440 በዲበ instead of እምዲበ

1 Enoch 10:21

Ge'ez

ወይኩኑ ፣ ከኣሉ ፣ ውሉደ ፣ ሰብእ ፣ ጸድቃነ ፣ ወይኩኑ ፣ ከኣሉ
(a) ፣ አሕዛብ ፣ ያምልኩ ፣ ወይባርኩ ፣ ኪያየ ፣ ወከኣሉሙ ፣ ሊተ
፣ ይስግዱ ።

Underlined letter is omitted but noted above the line.

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες
ἔμοι καὶ προσκυνοῦντες.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ከኣሉሙ instead of ከኣሉ (both times)
[ያ]ምልኩከ instead of ያምልኩ
ወይባር[]ከ instead of ወይባርኩ
ኪያከ instead of ኪያየ
ይስግዱ instead of ይስግዱ

EMML 1950 ከኣሉሙ instead of ከኣሉ (both times)
ይስግዱ ፣ ሊተ instead of ሊተ ፣ ይስግዱ

EMML 2080 (a) omits ከኣሉ

EMML 2436 (a) omits ከኣሉ

EMML 2440 ከኣሉሙ instead of ከኣሉ (both times)

1 Enoch 10:22

Ge'ez

ወትነጽሕ ፣ ምድር ፣ እምከሩሉ ፣ ሙሰና ፣ ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ኃጢአት ፣
ወእምከሩሉ (a) ፣ መቅሠፍት ፣ ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ፃዕር ፣ ወኢይደግም ፣
ከመ ፣ እፈኑ ፣ ዲቤሃ ፣ አይኅ ፣ ለትውልደ ፣ ትውልድ ፣ ወእስከ
፣ ለዓለም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ καθαρισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος καὶ ἀπὸ
πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ μάστιγος καὶ οὐκέτι πέμψω ἐπ’
αὐτοὺς εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Notes:

EMML 36 አይኃ instead of አይኅ

EMML 2080 ኀጢአት instead of ኃጢአት
(a) ወምከሩሉ instead of ወእምከሩሉ
omits አይኅ but notes it in the margin

EMML 2436 እምድር instead of ምድር
ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ፃዕር precedes ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ኃጢአት
አይኃ instead of አይኅ

EMML 2440 ወእምከሩሉ ፣ ፃዕር precedes ወእምከሩሉ ፣ መቅሠፍት
አይኃ instead of አይኅ

1 Enoch 11:1

Ge'ez

ወበእማንቱ ፣ መዋዕል ፣ እፈትሕ ፣ መዛግብተ ፣ በረከት ፣ እለ
፣ በሰማይ ፣ ከመ ፣ አውርዶሙ ፣ ዲበ ፣ ምድር ፣ ወዲበ (a) ፣
ግብሮሙ ፣ ወዲበ ፣ ማሆሙ ፣ ለውሉደ ፣ ሰብእ ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ τότε ἀνοίξω τὰ ταμεῖα τῆς εὐλογίας τὰ ὄντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
καὶ κατενεγκεῖν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, ἐπὶ τὸν κόπον τῶν υἱῶν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων.

Notes:

EMML 36 (a) ዲበ instead of ወዲበ

EMML 1768 (a) omits ወዲበ

EMML 1950 (a) ዲበ instead of ወዲበ

EMML 2080 ወበሰማንቱ instead of ወበእማንቱ
(a) ዲበ instead of ወዲበ

EMML 2436 (a) ዲበ instead of ወዲበ

EMML 2440 መዛግበተ instead of መዛግብተ
(a) ዲበ instead of ወዲበ

1 Enoch 11:2

Ge'ez

ሰላም ፣ ወርትዕ ፣ ሱቱፋኑ ፣ ይከውኑ (a) ፣ በከላሉ ፣ መዋዕለ ፣

ዓለም (b) ፣ ወበከላሉ ፣ ትውልደ ፣ ዓለም ።

Greek

Codex Panopolitanus:

καὶ τότε ἀλήθεια καὶ εἰρήνη κοινωνήσουσιν ὁμοῦ εἰς πάσας τὰς
ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Notes:

EMML 1768 ወሰላም instead of ሰላም
ይከላውኑ instead of ይከውኑ

EMML 1950 ይኩኑ instead of ይከውኑ

EMML 2080 ወሰላም instead of ሰላም
(a) inserts ኅቡረ
መዋዕል instead of መዋዕለ
(b) omits ዓለም

EMML 2436 ወሰላም instead of ሰላም

§2.3 – Translation and Notes

§2.3 – Translation and Notes.

The following translation takes a literal approach as much as possible. Where a more idiomatic rendering is given, the literal reading is given in the footnotes. The archaic forms *thou*, *thee* and *thy* are used to distinguish the second person singular from the second person plural pronouns. Although this method may appear cumbersome, its use is necessary to indicate a distinction preserved in all the textual traditions.

Of the previous translations, Knibb's is probably the most useful as Black tends to incorporate into his translation many of Syncellus' additions to the narrative – this is discussed more fully in the notes which accompany the translation.

1 Enoch 6:1

And it came to pass, from the time that¹⁸¹ the sons of men increased, in those days, fair and beautiful¹⁸² daughters were born to them.

This verse is a clear reference to Genesis 6:1 -

ויהי בי-החל האדם לרב על-פני
האדמה ובנות ילדו להם:

It appears that the Enochic reference to this verse was not based upon the Hebrew MT, but was derived from the same tradition extant in Targum Jonathan, which reads -

והוה ארי שריאו בני נשא למסני
על אנפי ארעא ובנתא שפירתא
איתילידו להון:

Fragment 4QEn^b yields שפירן ... [די] וְהוּא¹⁸³ - *And it was that [when] ...*

beautiful which, on account of the adjective *beautiful*, appears to correspond

¹⁸¹ For the translation of 𐤁𐤏𐤇𐤃 as *from the time that*, c.f. August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar* ² (second enlarged edition by Carl Bezold), translated by James A. Crichton (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907), 420.

¹⁸² EMM 36, inverting the adjectives, reads *beautiful and fair*.

¹⁸³ Milik read this as the 3.f.pl. perfect וְהוּא, as opposed to the expected 3.m.s. perfect וְהוּא, which Knibb later correctly suggested - c.f. Milik (1976), 168; Knibb (1978), II, 67. The form

better with Targum Jonathan than either the Hebrew MT or Onkelos which reads -

והוה בד שריאו בני אנשא למסני

על אפי ארעא ובנתא אתילידו

להון:

The reliance of 1 Enoch 7:1 upon the MT of Genesis 6:2b,¹⁸⁴ however, suggests that the Enochic narrator was not working exclusively from a Targumic text, but also from the MT.

Due to the limited nature of the Aramaic evidence, we cannot tell whether 4QEn^b originally had two adjectives, like the Ethiopic ሠናዖት ፤ ሠላህዖት and CP's ὡραῖαι καὶ καλαί, or whether it had only one adjective like the Syriac ܫܠܐܝܬܐ and Syncellus' ὡραῖαι. If the description has indeed been taken from the MT of Genesis 6:2, then the reading with only one adjective would appear to be original.

It has been pointed out, however, that one characteristic of Aramaic literary compositions is the use of two words for one, often with only minor

with the double ʾ is used to indicate that the ʾ is used as a consonant and not as a vowel. This orthographic convention continues in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, but not in Christian Palestinian Aramaic - c.f. W. B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* ² (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 11; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar-Ilan, 1990), 160. Fitzmyer gives an example of this form in another Qumran document, but he mistakenly reckons it to be a misspelling for ܫܠܐܝܬܐ - c.f. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 - A Commentary* ² (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 72-3, 170-1, 199.

¹⁸⁴ C.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 7:1.

differences in nuance or meaning between them¹⁸⁵. Thus the possibility remains that the Aramaic did contain two adjectives for the *daughters*.

The use of an adjective for the *daughters* allows us to assess whether the Syriac and Greek Enoch translators translated 1 Enoch 6:1 directly from their *Vorlage* or whether they resorted to their own versions of Genesis 6:1. As neither the LXX (καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς) nor the Peshitta (ܠܗ ܕܬܝܓܬܝܪ ܕܒܢܝܗܝܡܢ) has an adjective for the *daughters*, it appears that the translators worked directly from their Enochic *Vorlage*.

The evidence for the Ethiopic is more ambiguous¹⁸⁶. The following two Ethiopic Octateuch manuscripts illustrate this well:

BM Or 480 - 15th century

Genesis 6:1 - ... ወተወልዳ ፣ ለሙ ፣ አዋልድ ።

BM Or 482 - 18th century

Genesis 6:1 ... ወተወልዳ ፣ ለሙ ፣ አዋልድ ፣ ላህያት ።

¹⁸⁵ Jonas C. Greenfield & Michael Sokoloff, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Aramaic Vocabulary" in Takamitsu Muraoka, ed., *Abr-Nahrain - Supplement 3, Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 78-98, 95.

¹⁸⁶ The lack of a critical edition of the Bible in Ge'ez very much hampers one's investigation into such matters. The present author hopes that this situation will be remedied shortly. The evidence cited above comes from two manuscripts housed in the British Library which were readily made available, for which the present author is most grateful. The conclusions based on these manuscripts are very tentative, and firm conclusions will only be possible once a critical edition is published.

As we can see, the older manuscript concurs with the other ancient versions in that it has no adjective for the *daughters*. The use in the later BM Or 482 of the adjective ጥህፃት (*beautiful*) corresponds to the second adjective in 1 Enoch 6:1, so it is likely that this occurrence is a later development within the Ethiopic tradition, possibly due to cross-contamination from the Ethiopic Enoch tradition.

The remaining discrepancies between the MT of Genesis 6:1 and the Ethiopic version as it now stands are as follows:

- the absence of the verb *to begin* in the Ethiopic
- the Ethiopic *in those days* as opposed to the MT's *upon the face of the earth*.

In each of these cases, both Targums Onkelos and Jonathan agree with the MT against the Ethiopic.

The verb *to begin* is not attested in either the Syriac or any of the Greek versions. Thus we are forced to conclude that the verb *to begin* was not part of the Aramaic Enoch tradition, or that its use ceased within the Aramaic tradition. Its use did not continue into the later versions.

As both the LXX (καὶ ἐγένετο ἥνικα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι) and the Peshitta (ܠܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ) agree with the MT and Targums in making use of the verb *to begin*, we once

again conclude that the translators did not resort to their own versions of Genesis 6:1, but worked directly from their Enochic *Vorlage*.

Regarding the Ethiopic *in those days* as opposed to the MT/Targumic *upon the face of the earth*, we note that the Syriac of Michael's *Chronicle* reads *upon the earth in those days* (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܐ). This contrasts with the Peshitta which reads simply *upon the face of the earth* (ܠܥܠܡܐ ,ܐ ܠܕܐ). In the light of our previous conclusion that the Peshitta of Genesis 6:1 was not referred to by the Syriac Enoch translator, we conclude that the Enochic *Vorlage* probably contained both phrases. What is surprising at this point is that neither phrase occurs in Syncellus, whose version is supposed to relate to that of Michael the Syrian (c.f. §2.2).

CP supports the Ethiopic with its reading *in those days* (ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις) and the absence of *upon the (face of the) earth*. The LXX has only *upon the earth* (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), again confirming the independence of the Greek Enoch versions from the LXX of Genesis 6:1.

Thus we conclude that the Aramaic Enochic text probably did contain the phrase *in those days* as well as the *upon the (face of the) earth* extant in the MT and Targums, and also preserved in the Syriac. The Enochic narrator may have derived this from the MT of Genesis 6:4, which reads -

הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם ...

The Nephilim were on the earth in those days ...

Charles¹⁸⁷ noted that the Ethiopic (ለ-ሙ) and Syncellus (αὐτοῖς) agree against CP, which omits the use of the indirect object in the final clause of 1 Enoch 6:1. To this observation may now be added also the Syriac, although the full noun is used (ܠܡܢܐ) rather than the pronoun. Thus it is apparent that CP is at fault here.

¹⁸⁷ Charles (1893), 321.

1 Enoch 6:2

And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and they lusted after them; and they said among themselves, "Come, let us choose for ourselves¹⁸⁸ wives from the sons of men and let us beget for ourselves sons."

We note in this verse the extent to which our sources divide into two groups. On the one hand, we have the Ethiopic and CP, which differ in this verse only by the omission in CP of *the sons of*:

Eth. እምዑሉ ደ ፣ ሰብእ

CP ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

These two sources differ in a number of ways from the excerpts in Syncellus and Michael the Syrian. Both Michael and Syncellus:

- have the verb sequence *to lust ... to be led astray* rather than *to see ... to lust*
- omit the imperative *Come!*
- have *the daughters of the men of the earth* instead of *the sons of men*

The fact that these three differences are held in common against the Ethiopic and CP lead us to conclude that they go back to their common source.

Due to the use of the verb *to see*, the verb sequence *to see ... to lust*, as found in the Ethiopic and CP, is more akin to the continuation of the narrative according to the MT and Targums. Thus we again conclude that the original reading is the one found in the Ethiopic/CP.

The alternative verb sequence *to lust ... to be led astray*, coupled with the addition of the phrase *of the earth*, betrays the work of the Chronicler, providing more of an emphasis upon the sexual sin of the angels and the crossing of the boundaries between heaven and earth. The addition of the phrase *of the earth* could derive from its use in 1 Enoch 9:8.

The use in both the *Chronicles* of *daughters* rather than the *sons* attested in the Ethiopic and CP represents the triumph of sense over content in the priority of the original chronicler - it is far more sensible for the angels to choose their partners from the female inhabitants of the earth than their male counterparts. This again confirms the reliability of the Ethiopic/CP tradition, as the opposite development from *daughters* to *sons* would make no sense whatsoever. In short, the change from *sons* to *daughters* is more likely than the change from *daughters* to *sons*.

Black suggests that Syncellus and Michael's *daughters of the men of the earth* preserves the original reading which would have been ¹⁸⁹בנות ארעה.

But this is unlikely as the necessary corollary of Black's suggestion is that the

¹⁸⁸ EMML 2436 omits *for ourselves*.

¹⁸⁹ Black (1985), 116.

less likely change, from *daughters* to *sons*, occurred in both the Ethiopic and CP.

Finally, we note that Syncellus departs from his chronicle source, omitting the final clause of this verse - *and let us beget for ourselves sons*. This is a variation occurring within the chronicle tradition, and in no way suggests that this clause was not part of the original composition.

1 Enoch 6:3

And Semyaza, who was their ruler, said to them,¹⁹⁰ “I fear lest you will not wish this thing to be done, and I alone will be answerable for this¹⁹¹ great sin.”

In this verse, the Ethiopic and CP agree save in two minor points:

- the Ethiopic has the passive **ደጉገበር**, whilst the Greek uses the active **ποιῆσαι**.
- the final phrase in the Ethiopic is *this great sin* (**ለዛቲ ፣ ኃጢአት ፣ ዓባይ**) as opposed to simply *great sin* (**ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης**) in CP.

Within the Chronicle tradition, both Syncellus (**ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης**) and Michael (**ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης**) agree with CP against the Ethiopic with regard to the final phrase, implying that the true reading is attested in CP.

Compared to 1 Enoch 6:1-2, this verse has been preserved well in the Chronicle tradition, with the main differences occurring in Michael's excerpt which:

- omits the relative pronoun in describing *Semyaza*
- omits the indirect object for the verb *to say*

- omits the verb *to want/wish*.¹⁹²

1 Enoch 6:4

And they all answered him and said¹⁹³, “We shall all swear an oath and we shall¹⁹⁴ excommunicate ourselves¹⁹⁵ in order that¹⁹⁶ we shall not change¹⁹⁷ this plan but we shall *put this plan into execution*¹⁹⁸.”

The Aramaic for this verse reads:

ואמרו לה בלהן נפ[א] [...] נתוב כלנה מן מלב[ה]

And they all said to him, “We will [take an oath ...] we shall [not] turn from [this] counsel ...

It is clear from 4QEn^a that there was no verb *to answer* at the start of this verse in the original Aramaic¹⁹⁹. The addition of the verb *to answer* occurred early on, however, as it is attested in all the other witnesses:

CP ἀπεκρίθησαν

Michael ܐܦܬܝܒܐ

¹⁹³ EMMML 1768 & 2080 omit *and said*.

¹⁹⁴ EMMML 2080 inserts *all*.

¹⁹⁵ For an explanation of *excommunicate ourselves*, c.f. the commentary on 1 Enoch 6:5.

¹⁹⁶ The reading *in order that* is based upon EMMML 1768, 1950, 2080 & 2436. The other manuscripts consulted read *also* which is less preferable. The difference in the Ethiopic orthography is only slight: **ከመ** instead of **ከመ**.

¹⁹⁷ EMMML 2080 reads *we shall not be turned*.

¹⁹⁸ ... *put this plan into execution* is Dillmann's translation of this phrase - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 439.

Syncellus ἀπεκρίθησαν

Ethiopic ወለውሉኑ

The Ethiopic presents the angels as swearing not *to change* (root *መየጠ) the plan. The Aramaic has the root ܠܢ with the preposition ܠ - *to turn from*.²⁰⁰ This is supported by both the Greek versions which have ἀποστρέψαι - *to turn from*. It is possible that the Ethiopic originally had the root *መየጠ with እም - *to turn from*, but that this was later changed to *መየጠ with ለ - *to change*.

In the Ethiopic, the last phrase utilises a construction peculiar in that the verb has a predicative-accusative which functions as a second object²⁰¹:

ወንግብራ ፣ ለዛቲ ፣ ምክር ፣ ግብረ

... but we shall do *the doing of* this plan.

CP simply has καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο - *and we shall do this deed*, which leads us to conclude that the use of two nouns in the Ethiopic does not preserve the original form.

¹⁹⁹ Milik restores ܠܢ - *and they answered*, which is unnecessary because, as the photograph of the fragment demonstrates, it was obviously not part of the text - c.f. Milik (1976), 151 & Plate III.

²⁰⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 151, 341 & Plate III.

²⁰¹ Dillmann (1907), 439. An alternative explanation is that the ምክር is a participle/adjective which then modifies the following ግብረ to give the meaning *but we shall do this planned deed*. Whichever explanation one accepts, the following discussion is relevant.

Out of the two nouns, it is likely that the 𐌸𐌹𐌺 is the additional element, because removing it would leave 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺 which corresponds to the phrase 𐌸𐌹𐌺 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺 in the previous verse.

This prompts one to ponder how 𐌸𐌹𐌺 crept into the text at this point. The obvious answer, that it appears due to the occurrence of 𐌸𐌹𐌺 just three words before, is not satisfactory on its own. But considering that the Greek text contains the word μέχρις in the next clause, the occurrence of two similar sounding words in different languages in such close proximity could have prompted the repetition of 𐌸𐌹𐌺, and the subsequent use of 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺 as a predicative-accusative²⁰². This implies that the Ethiopic version was based upon a Greek *Vorlage*.

It appears that the Chronicle tradition replaced the noun of the final clause with a pronoun. Thus Syncellus has μέχρις οὗ ἀποτελέσωμεν αὐτήν - *until we accomplish it*. Further confirmation of this is given by Michael's 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺 which, although preceded by a gap in the text, obviously marks the end of this verse.

²⁰² Or, if one accepts the alternative explanation given in note 201, the subsequent modification of 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺 with 𐌸𐌹𐌺.

Additional note on the Syriac version:

Brock's readings and verse divisions are as follows²⁰³:

(v. 4) הפסוק למלך²⁰⁴ כל היום ולא מפסיק זה כלל.

മൂറ മറിയം നല്ല പേരമ (v. 5)

In Chabot's copy, there is a large space between \aleph_{\aleph_1} and \aleph as follows:

[] כעס, ת

നാലു പേർ

As Brock notes, in relation to another space in Michael's *Chronicle*²⁰⁵, such a space is probably due to the scribe being unable to comprehend his *Vorlage*.

In this situation, the scribe would leave a space and continue from where he could understand his *Vorlage*.

In comparison to the Greek of Syncellus, it is apparent that this verse, either in translation or due to a later copyist, has suffered much in its Syriac recension. Michael's Syriac quote is far removed from its Greek antecedent. It is then of no surprise that the blank space has been left by the scribe. But what of the $\text{m}\lambda$ which follows the space?

²⁰³ Brock (1968), 630.

²⁰⁴ Brock amended the Ms., which reads *ܠܠܗܝܢ*. As it stands, the Ms. would read "... We shall all speak/chant and curse ...", whilst Brock's amendment would translate as "... We shall bind with an oath, all of us, and we shall curse ...". Both the Ms. and Brock's amendment differ from the text as attested in Syncellus and the Ethiopic version.

²⁰⁵ Brock (1968), 627.

Brock places this at the beginning of verse five which, in Syncellus, reads τότε πάντες ὤμοσαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους. It appears, however, that the m actually belongs at the end of verse four, translating the accusative pronoun αὐτή. Verse five then begins with ܠܡܢ which translates Syncellus' τότε (as well as the Ethiopic ከሁሉ).

This adds weight to the hypothesis that Michael's Syriac Enoch quote is derived from the same source as Syncellus' excerpt. The alternative Greek version gives a much longer text, ending with ... καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. Michael's m certainly does not translate the demonstrative adjective τοῦτο.

1 Enoch 6:5

At that time, they all swore an oath²⁰⁶ together and²⁰⁷ they all²⁰⁸
excommunicated themselves in it.

The second ስላሙ (all of them) is only attested in three of the seven manuscripts consulted by the present author. It is probably not original but an addition which occurred within the Ethiopic tradition.

This second ስላሙ aside, the Ethiopic and CP agree in every detail. Syncellus differs only in the absence of the final ἐν αὐτοῖς. The Syriac breaks off half way through, but it appears that it differed from all the other witnesses by inverting the verb order:

Ethiopic/CP/Syncellus	<i>to swear ... to curse</i>
Michael	<i>to curse ... to swear</i>

The Aramaic appears to confirm the order found in the Ethiopic and Greek witnesses, although we cannot be certain of the missing verb:²⁰⁹

... בלהן בחדה ואחרפון

... all of them together and they cut themselves off ...

²⁰⁶ EML 36 omits *they swore an oath*.

²⁰⁷ EML 36 omits *and*.

²⁰⁸ EML 36, 1768, 2080 & 2436 omit *all*.

²⁰⁹ C.f. Milik (1976), 150, 341 & Plate III.

Thus we tentatively conclude that the omission of the *in it* (Ethiopic ቦቱ, CP ἐν αὐτοῖς) was a feature of the Chronicle tradition, and the inverting of the verbs a further deviance which occurred within the Syriac recension of this tradition.

CP omits the following verse, and picks up the narrative again in verse seven which lists the names of the leaders of the angels. If we omit the second ኩሉሙ (as discussed above), the final part of verses five and six are very similar in the Ethiopic:

Verse 5: ... ወአውገዙ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ ቦቱ

Verse 6: ... ቦቱ ፣ ወአውገዙ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ

This point is reinforced by the equivalent comparison between the end of verse five according to CP and the end of verse six according to Syncellus:

Verse 5 (CP): ... καὶ ἀνεθεμέατισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Verse 6 (Syncellus): ... καὶ ἀνεθεμέατισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Thus the absence in CP of verse six is probably due to the scribe confusing the end of verse five with the end of verse six.

1 Enoch 6:6

And they were altogether two hundred, and they descended onto 'Ardis, that is to say the summit of Mount 'Armon. And they called the mountain 'Armon because they swore an oath on it²¹⁰ and they excommunicated themselves.

Qumran fragment 4QEn^a 1 iii c gives:²¹¹

in the days of Jared upon	בְּיָמֵי יֶרֶד עַל]
for they swore and cut themselves off	דִּי יָמֵי וְאַחֲרָם]ו

This verse contains two puns which work only within a Semitic context. The first pun is the statement that the angels descended בְּיָמֵי יֶרֶד - *in the days of Jared* (root יֶרֶד - *to descend*). The second pun is the explanation for the toponym *Mount 'Armon*, i.e. Mount Hermon (חֶרְמוֹן), so called because it was the site where the angels cut themselves off (אַחֲרָם) from their heavenly abode²¹².

Syncellus transmits the sense of this first pun accurately with οἱ καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰάρεδ - *the ones who descended in the days of Jared*, although obviously the pun itself is lost once the phrase is rendered in Greek. The Syriac fails to retrieve the pun as the root of the verb *to descend* is

²¹⁰ EMM 36, 1768, 1950, 2080 & 2440 omit *on it*.

ከሥራ, although it still transmits the sense correctly with ... ስለዚህ -

which descended ... in the days of Jared.

Thus it is surprising that the Ethiopic translators not only failed to understand the intended pun, but also failed to transmit the sense correctly. This implies that the translators were working from a Greek *Vorlage* - had the translators been working from the Aramaic, it is less likely that they would have rendered בְּיָמֵי יָרֵד - *in the days of Jared* as ውስተ ፡ አርዲስ - *onto 'Ardis*.

Dillmann suggested that the translator arrived at ውስተ ፡ አርዲስ - *onto 'Ardis* by reading Ἰάρεδ εἰς as one word²¹³. Charles further suggested that Dillmann was correct regarding the compression of Ἰάρεδ εἰς, but that the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις was not found in the translator's *Vorlage*²¹⁴.

We can solve this small disagreement by means of a simple analysis. Unfortunately, we are without CP here, so we have to make the following analysis based upon the text as it stands in Syncellus:

<u>Syncellus</u>	<u>οἱ καταβάντες</u>	<u>Ethiopic</u>	ወወረዱ
	<u>ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰάρεδ</u>		<u>ውስተ ፡ አርዲስ</u>
	εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν		ዘውላቱ ፡ ድማሁ
	τοῦ Ἑρμονιᾶς ὄρους		ለደብረ ፡ አርሞን

²¹¹ C.f. Milik (1976), 150, 341 & Plate III.

²¹² These puns are discussed more fully in the commentary to 1 Enoch 6:6.

²¹³ Dillmann (1851), 92 - cited from Knibb (1978), II, 69.

²¹⁴ Charles (1893), 63.

The first and fourth phrases are well rendered into Ethiopic. The third differs in that the preposition εἰς is replaced with the relative pronoun ዘውላቱ. So the εἰς could indeed have been merged with the preceding Ἰάρεδ. This leaves the second phrase in which the Ethiopic ውስተ translates the Greek ἐν, leaving the ταῖς ἡμέραις (fem. pl. dat. *the days*) completely unaccounted for.

Thus the presence of the Ethiopic ውስተ translating the Greek ἐν implies that the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις was indeed present in the *Vorlage*, but that the translator omitted to translate ταῖς ἡμέραις in order that he could render the rest of the sentence in a sensible manner.

1 Enoch 6:7

And these are the names of their rulers - Samyaza, that is to say their ruler, ʾUrākiba-Rāmēʾēl, ʾAkibēʾēl, Tāmēʾel, Ramuʾel, Danʾēl, ʾĒzeqēʾēl, Sarāquyal, ʾAsāʾēl, ʾArmērs, Batraʾal, ʾAnāʿeʾē, Zaqēbē, Samsapsēʾēl, Sartuʾēl, Turʾēl, Yomyāʾēl, ʾArāzyal.

From 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, we can produce the following composite text for the Aramaic version:²¹⁵

ואלין ... שמיחזה ... תנין לה רמט[אל] תליתי לה בוכבאל רביעי לה ...
[חמ]ישי לה רעמא[ל] ... דניאל שב[יעי] ... ויקיאל ... [ל]ה ברקאל תשיע[י]
לה עסאל עסירי ... וחרמני ... לה מטראל תרי עסר ... עננאל תלתת עסר
לה ... ארבעת עסר לה שמש[אל] ... עסר לה שהריאל שתת עסר לה ...
טוריאל תמני[ת עסר] לה ימ[יאל] תשעת לה ...

And these ... Shemihazah ... second to him, Ramat[el] third to him, Kokabel fourth to him ... [fi]fth to him, Ramee[l] ... Daniel sev[enth] ... Ziqiel ... [to] him, Baraqel nint[h] to him, Asael tenth ... and Harmoni ... to him, Matarel twelfth ... Ananel thirteenth to him ... fourteenth to him, Shamshi[el] ... (fif)teenth to him, Sahariel sixteenth to him ... Turiel eigh[teenth] to him, Yom[iel] nine(teenth) to him ...

The discovery of the Aramaic fragments resolved many of the problems associated with the list of twenty angelic rulers given in this verse. The following comments are intended to supplement Black's excellent analysis of the Enoch angel lists²¹⁶.

The Syriac excerpt for the start of this verse has proved rather puzzling:

In particular, the phrase ܠܗܘܐ ܠܥܠܡ is problematic. Brock suggests that it must be corrupt²¹⁷. It is possible, however, that ܠܗܘܐ should be understood as an abbreviation of the angelic name which occurs in verse three as ܡܬܢܝܠܗܘܐ.

²¹⁵ C.f. Milik (1976), 150, 188, 341, 347 & Plates III, X.

Semi'azos). Thus the above section could be translated *and these, their dekarchs, were with Semi'azos*²¹⁸. For a discussion of the Aramaic **שמיאזוס**, see the commentary to 1 Enoch 6:3.

<u>2 & 3</u>	ኦራኪቦራሜኤል	???
	Ἀραθάκ Κιμβρά (CP)	Σαμμανή (CP)
	Ἀταρκούφ (Syn.)	Ἀρακιήλ (Syn.)
		לֵא]מַרְגַּל

Most of the Ethiopic manuscripts merge the second and third angelic names leaving only eighteen rather than the twenty we would expect²¹⁹. Black divides **ኦራኪቦራሜኤል** into **ኦራኪቦ** and **ራሜኤል**²²⁰, but this division is not certain as the following manuscripts demonstrate²²¹:

BM 485	ኦራኪ ፣ ቦራሜኤ
Ull.	ኦራክ ቦራ ፣ ሜኤል
Tana 9	ለኦራኪብ ፣ ራሜኤል

<u>4</u>	አኪቤኤል
	Ⲭⲉⲃⲁⲛⲁ
	Xωχαριήλ (CP - number 8 in list)
	Xωβαβιήλ (Syn.)
	ל]כבנא (4QEn^a)/לכבנא (4QEn^c)

²¹⁶ Matthew Black, "The Twenty Angel Dekadarchs at 1 Enoch 6.7 and 69.2" in *JJS* 33 (1982), 227-35.

²¹⁷ Brock (1968), 631, note 1.

²¹⁸ Note, however, the Karshuni version of this phrase which differs markedly - c.f. §2.6.

²¹⁹ The Ethiopic also misses out angelic name 17 in 1 Enoch 6:7.

²²⁰ Black (1982), 228.

²²¹ Cited from Knibb (1978), I, 16.

Two of our manuscripts, EML 2080 and EML 2436, have the more original ܟܟܐܒܐܠ (*Kokab'el*) instead of ܟܟܒܐܠ (*ʾAkibēʾel*). It is clear, from the renderings of this name in the Syriac and Greek versions, that the erroneous ܟܟܒܐܠ is an inner Ethiopic development, probably due to the ease with which ܟܟ can be confused with ܟܟ.

Syncellus' Χωβαβιήλ shows that the Aramaic ܟܟܒܐܠ was read as ܟܟܒܐܠ, with ܟܟ and ܟܟ being confused. This confusion did not occur in CP, but its Χωχαριήλ is still erroneous. Whilst it is possible that ܟܟ was confused with ܟܟ, the present author considers this to be an inner-Greek corruption, with P being mistakenly written for B.

The Syriac quote breaks off at this point, with the incorrect statement that ܟܟܒܐܠ was the leader of the 200 angels, and a summary of the skills taught by this angel. As the name suggests, these are astronomical skills:

ܟܟܒܐܠܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܝܐܝܡܐ ܟܟܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ
ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ ܟܟܒܐܠܐ

... of whom Kokab'il, who was head of 200, taught the sons of man astronomy,
that is the orbit of the sun, 360 [guides?] being numbered.

For 𐤠𐤓𐤕𐤠, Brock gives the Greek ζώδια, meaning Zodiac²²². The problem with this is that Chabot's copy clearly reads 𐤠𐤓𐤕𐤠 and not 𐤠𐤓𐤕𐤓. It is possible, of course, that in the Serta script 𐤠 could be confused with 𐤓, but the reading *360 zodiacs* does not appear to make sense. Brock's suggestion is supported, however, by the reading attested in the Karshuni version²²³.

9 𐤏𐤌𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤁
 Βαρακιήλ (CP - number 15 in list)
 ᾿Αρακιήλ (Syn.)²²⁴
 ברקאל

The name ברקאל was not unknown to the inhabitants of Qumran, and it is attested in at least one other Qumran document of the same genre as the *Book of Enoch*. The fourth line of 6Q8, fragment 1, reads:

[ברקאל אבי עמי הוה]

... Baraqi'el, my father, was with me ...²²⁵

²²² Brock (1968), 631.

²²³ C.f. §2.6.

²²⁴ Black suggests that Syncellus' equivalent of this angelic name is Βαλακιήλ, which appears ninth immediately before ᾿Αζαλζήλ. This leaves Black with the problem of having to place ᾿Αρακιήλ, which is done most unsatisfactorily - c.f. Black (1982), 228.

²²⁵ Quoted from Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 191. Milik also cites this passage, although his version differs greatly from that of Fitzmyer. It appears that Milik's divergence from Fitzmyer is influenced by a desire to link the fragment with traditions extant in Middle Persian and Sogdian texts - c.f. Milik (1976), 300.

Fitzmyer suggests that this fragment is connected with the birth of Noah²²⁶, but the use of a typical angelic name, along with the description of this character as being the father of the narrator of this passage, implies that the narrator at this point is probably one of the giant progeny of the *Watchers*.

The name is well preserved in CP, and Syncellus only differs in the omission of the initial *B*. The Ethiopic, however, is corrupt in all the manuscripts consulted by the present author with the exception of EMMML 2080, the oldest of our manuscripts, which has the correct $\Omega\text{ራቅላ}$ (*Baraqyal*). The corruption in the other manuscripts is obviously an inner Ethiopic development probably due to the ease with which Ω can be confused with Λ . It is possible, however, that the change was made consciously, as the Ethiopic $\Lambda\text{ራቂ}$ means *thief*, a far better term for a villainous figure than $\ast\Omega\text{ራቂ}$ which would mean *one who shines*.

10 አሳኤል
 'ΑΣέαλ (CP - number 18 in list)
 'Αζαλζήλ (Syn.)
 ܐܣܥܐܠ

This is the only occurrence of the name ܐܣܥܐܠ in the Aramaic fragments of the *Book of Watchers*²²⁷. This is problematic as it is uncertain whether this form of the name was uniform throughout the *Book of Watchers*. The name differs in

²²⁶ Fitzmyer also suggests that the fragments of 6Q8 are related to the Enoch literature and possibly related to the *Genesis Apocryphon* - c.f. Fitzmyer (1971), 191.

²²⁷ Milik's reading of ܐܣܥܐܠ in fragment 4QEn^b I ii l, corresponding to 1 Enoch 8:1, is pure fiction - c.f. Milik (1976), 167, 345, Plate VII. Unfortunately, this reading has been accepted by both Knibb and Black - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 73; Black (1982), 231 & (1985), 121.

all the other versions in its subsequent occurrences (1 Enoch 8:1; 9:6; 10:4, 8), with the Ethiopic having 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩬𐩪 (ʿAzazʿel) instead of 𐩦𐩶𐩬𐩪 (ʿAsāʿel) and both CP and Syncellus having ᾿Αζαήλ²²⁸.

It is likely that the name is ܠܢܨܥ - *God has pressed/crushed*, and not ܠܢܨܥ - *God has made*, as has previously been assumed²²⁹. This is supported by the punishment inflicted upon this angel, in which he is bound and crushed beneath the earth under a pile of rocks (1 Enoch 10:4-5). In a nice use of irony, the angel to whom all evil is ascribed is named according to the punishment he received²³⁰.

²²⁸ It is possible that the name also differed in subsequent occurrences in the Aramaic version as the Qumran *Book of Giants* gives ܠ[ܢ]ܢܥ, although this reading is also rather unclear - c.f. Milik (1976), 313, Plate XXXI.

²²⁹ C.f. for example Milik (1976), 153; Knibb (1978), II, 73; Black (1982), 231 & (1985), 121.

²³⁰ It is worth noting at this point that the Aramaic root ܢܨܥ - *to press*, is often used in a magical context, particularly in the bowls of Mesopotamia - c.f. D. Levene, "And in the name of Jesus' - An unpublished magic bowl in Jewish Aramaic" in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 6 (1999), 283-308. Thus there could be a double pun in the name ܠܢܨܥ, with an allusion to both his teachings and his punishment.

1 Enoch 6:8

These are the leaders of the 200 angels²³¹, and each one of the others were with them.

Manuscript EMLL 1768 has the significant variant 𐤐𐤍𐤌𐤔 𐤍𐤊𐤕𐤔𐤍 for 𐤠𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔𐤍𐤊𐤕𐤔𐤍, giving *these are the leaders of tens*. This is most probably the original reading as it corresponds to both CP and the Aramaic:

CP οὗτοι εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα - *these are the chiefs of*

*ten*²³²

Aramaic

ܐܪܝܬܐ ܕܪܒܢܐ ܕܐܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܪܒܢܝܢ ܥܡ ܕܪܒܢܐ - *these are chiefs and chiefs*

*of tens*²³³

²³¹ EMLL 1768 reads *these are the leaders of their tens*; EMLL 2080 reads *these are their leaders*.

²³² Black's proposal to read δεκακα and understand it as δεκαδάρχαι is problematic, not least because the scribe has just three words previously used ἀρχαὶ and spelt it correctly. It is likely that the καὶ is meant to start the next verse but c.f. Black (1985), 123.

²³³ This reading is based upon Black's interpretation of 4QEn^a - c.f. Black (1985), 123. Black's interpretation is preferable to Milik's, which is rather difficult to explain - c.f. Milik (1976), 150, 156; Knibb (1978), II, 76.

1 Enoch 7:1

And they took for themselves wives²³⁴, and everyone²³⁵ chose for himself a few²³⁶. And they began to enter²³⁷ into their presence and they had intercourse with them. And they taught them spells and incantations, and they showed them the cutting of the root and herbs.

Using both 4QEn^a and 4QEn^b, we can restore the following Aramaic text for this verse:

... נשין מן כל די בחרו ושריו ... ולא לפה אנין חרשה ו ...

... wives from all that they chose and they began ... and to teach them sorcery and ...

None of the later versions give an accurate rendering of the Aramaic phrase מן כל די בחרו – *from all that they chose*:

Eth. ወገረዮ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ለለርእሱ ፣ አሐተ ፣ አሐተ

and everyone chose for himself a few

²³⁴ EMMML 2436 reads *and they all took wives*.

²³⁵ For the translation of ኩሉ as *everyone*, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 479.

²³⁶ Knibb renders this clause *and everyone chose for himself one each*, apparently unaware that the sequence አሐተ ፣ አሐተ can mean *a few* - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 374; Knibb (1978), II, 76. The rendering given above implies that each angel chose more than one wife and that another aspect of their sin was polygamy. The Aramaic is too fragmentary to be of help at this point, and both the Greek versions are ambiguous.

²³⁷ The verb *נחל has a nuance implying a sexual approach, rather like its Hebrew cognate בוא.

CP ἑκάστος αὐτῶν ἐξελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας

everyone of them chose for themselves wives

This suggests that it is a text akin to CP, rather than the Aramaic, which underlies the Ethiopic version. In the remainder of the verse, CP differs from the Ethiopic in only two aspects²³⁸:

- CP has the verb *to defile oneself* (μιαίνεσθαι - pres. mid. inf. of μιαίνω - *to defile*) instead of 𐤒𐤓𐤌 - *to have intercourse*
- CP omits the verb *to cut*

The verb μιαίνεσθαι is well attested in the context of sexual pollution. It is used in the LXX of Leviticus 18:24, which discusses bestiality (another illicit crossing of sexual boundaries), and is equivalent to the Hebrew root נָמַם - *to be unclean*. Thus the use of this term in CP is far more negative than the simple statement in the Ethiopic that *they had intercourse with them*²³⁹. Unfortunately, the Aramaic is unable to resolve which reading is original.

²³⁸ For a discussion of Syncellus' version, see the Additional Note which follows the notes to 1 Enoch 7:2.

²³⁹ Knibb renders this clause *and were promiscuous with them* which certainly does have the negative aspect. Furthermore, Knibb suggests two ways in which the confusion between the Ethiopic's *to be promiscuous* and the Greek's *to defile oneself* could have arisen - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 77-8. Knibb's rendering and ensuing line of argument are flawed, however, as the Ethiopic verb 𐤒𐤓𐤌 means simply *to insert, mingle or unite*, from which the aspect of *intercourse* is derived. There is no negative or immoral aspect to this verb. See also the notes to the next verse.

1 Enoch 7:2

But they conceived and bore great giants, and the height of each²⁴⁰ was 3,000 cubits.

The Ethiopic and CP are again in agreement, whilst the Aramaic appears to differ considerably:

<i>And they became pregnant by them and [bore ...</i>	והויה במנן מנהן ויל[רה]
<i>they were born upon the earth ...</i>	הוּו מתילדין על ארעה] ²⁴¹

Thus the clause describing the birth of the giants is passive in the Aramaic, in contrast to the Ethiopic and CP.

It is worth noting that the Ethiopic has affixed the particle of contrast - ሰ to the opening word of the verse, in addition to the initial conjunction ወ-. This serves to emphasise that the events of the preceding verse had a negative result which is about to be described. Whilst in the Greek, the post-positive particle δὲ - *and/but* is ambiguous, the Ethiopic version clarifies that a *but* is intended. This clarification is necessary in the Ethiopic as the

²⁴⁰ EMMML 2436 omits *of each*.

²⁴¹ C.f. Milik (1976), 150-1, 342 & Plate III.

preceding verse makes no moral judgement concerning the sexual union between the angels and humans.²⁴²

²⁴² Thus Knibb's translation of *ⲱⲧⲉⲛⲁ* as *and were promiscuous with them*, in the previous verse, is again shown to be invalid as, were it correct, no contrasting emphasis would be necessary.

Additional note on Syncellus' version of 1 Enoch 7:

Syncellus differs markedly from both the Ethiopic and CP in this chapter:

1 Enoch 7 - Syncellus

These and all the rest, in the 1,760th year of the world, they took for themselves wives. And they began to defile themselves with them until the flood and they brought forth for them three types of offspring - first great giants.

And the giants begot Nepheleim, and to the Nepheleim were born Elioud. And they were growing through their greatness. And they taught themselves and their wives sorcery and divination.

[Syncellus stops at this point and restarts at 1 Enoch 8:1]

The additions in Syncellus are readily explicable in the light of the chronographer's aims. The addition of the date and the phrase *until the flood* set the events within the grand chronological scheme under construction.

The three types of offspring - the giants, the Nepheleim and the Elioud - have been imported from Jubilees 7:22, which states:

And they (the Watchers) begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and they were all unlike, and they devoured one another: and the Giants

slew the Nâphîl, and the Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô

mankind, and one man another.²⁴³

Thus Syncellus incorporated elements of the Watcher story from *Jubilees* into his *Enoch* account. This again shows that the priority of the chronographer was not to produce a faithful translation of the *Book of Enoch* but to use a variety of sources to construct an account of the world's history.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Quoted from Charles' translation - c.f. Charles (1913), 24.

²⁴⁴ The identity of the *Elioud* remains unknown. The present author, however, is not convinced by Black's effort to derive *Elioud* from יְלִידִין - c.f. Black (1985), 126. From a methodological point of view, Black's propensity to favour Syncellus' text as original, rather than the Ethiopic or CP, leads to such suggestions. In the case of the *Elioud*, Black first suggested that Syncellus may preserve the original reading of the first clause - c.f. Black (1985), 125. Milik also tends to prefer readings from Syncellus over an agreement between the Ethiopic and CP. C.f. Milik (1976), 151, where Milik renders the first clause of this verse according to Syncellus.

The tendency to prefer readings in Syncellus goes back to Charles. For example, Charles stated that the three types of giants "were, we must suppose, originally given in this chapter" - c.f. Charles (1893), 64. The present author suggests that, because the primary aim of Syncellus was to produce a chronology rather than a faithful transmission of the *Book of Watchers*, Syncellus is not a more reliable witness than CP or the Ethiopic, especially when the two are in agreement. C.f. also the notes to 1 Enoch 8:1.

1 Enoch 7:3

These completely²⁴⁵ consumed the toil of men, until the men were unable to provide for them.

Knibb translates the first phrase *these devoured all the toil of men* using the ሁሉ as the accusative of ሁሉ - *all*.²⁴⁶ The translation given above uses ሁሉ as an adverb modifying the preceding verb በለዐ - to consume.

It is interesting to note, however, that this ሁሉ has proved to be problematic in the transmission of this verse. Of the manuscripts read by the present author, EML 2440 omits it altogether, and EML 2080 gives ሁሉሙ - *all of them* instead. CP also omits the *completely* element, not representing the Ethiopic ሁሉ in any form. These observations caused Charles to conclude that the ሁሉ was an addition which occurred within the Ethiopic tradition.²⁴⁷

Qumran fragment 4QEn^a, however, does contain this element albeit with a different use:

עַמֶּל כָּל בְּנֵי אָדָם וְלֹא יֵן ²⁴⁸

the toil of all the sons of men and [they were] not ...

²⁴⁵ EML 2440 omits *completely* whilst EML 2080 reads *all of them* instead.

²⁴⁶ Knibb (1978), II, 78.

²⁴⁷ Charles (1893), 332.

²⁴⁸ C.f. Milik (1976), 150-1, 342 & Plate III.

Thus it appears that the *all* element did originally occur in this verse and that it modified *mankind*.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Knibb highlights the Ethiopic Ms. Ull. which also reads *the toil of all men*, but this is most probably another inner Ethiopic variant which happens to agree with the Aramaic rather than a witness to the superiority of Ull. - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 78.

1 Enoch 7:4

And the giants turned against them *in order that* they would consume the men.

CP differs from the Ethiopic in that it

- omits the *and* beginning simply with οἱ γίγαντες
- uses the verb ἐτόλμησαν - *they ventured* instead of ܛܫܠܡܐ - *they turned themselves*

Fragment 4QEn^a gives:

... ܩܫܪܝܢ ܠܩܬܠܐ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܘܢ²⁵⁰

... *they conspired together to kill the men and ...*

Thus neither the Ethiopic nor CP accurately translate either of the Aramaic verbs in this verse. Firstly, the root ܩܫܪܝܢ - *they conspired* is rendered with ἐτόλμησαν - *they ventured* and ܛܫܠܡܐ - *they turned themselves*. Secondly, the root ܠܩܬܠܐ - *to kill* is rendered with κατησθίονσαν - *they devoured* and ܕܢܐܕܪܫܡܐ - *they would consume them*.

²⁵⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 150-1, 342 & Plate III.

1 Enoch 7:5

And they began to sin against the birds and against the beasts
and²⁵¹ against the reptile and against the fish. And they²⁵²
consumed their own flesh among themselves and they drank
blood from it.

CP omits the repetition of the preposition *against* and the final *from it*. As Charles observed, these are probably additions made within the Ethiopic tradition.²⁵³ From the omission of the preposition *against* before חַיִּי ת אַרְעָה in the Aramaic fragments, it appears that CP represents the original well in not repeating the preposition *against*, and that Charles' observation may indeed be correct:

לְקוֹן בָּל כָּל כְּנִפְוֹ חַיִּי ת אַרְעָה²⁵⁴

against every bird and living thing of the earth

The Aramaic used the preposition בָּל - *all/every* which is missing from both the subsequent versions.

²⁵¹ EML 2436 omits *and*.

²⁵² EML 1768 inserts *each*.

²⁵³ Charles (1893), 332.

²⁵⁴ C.f. Milik (1976), 150-1, 342 & Plate III.

1 Enoch 7:6

At that time the earth complained concerning the unjust ones.

The Ethiopic and CP agree in this verse, with CP using ἀνόμων - *lawless* for the Ethiopic's 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩪 - *unjust/violent*. The Aramaic, however, clearly reads 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂 - *being done* which is attested in neither of the other versions. This appears to support the hypothesis that the Ethiopic translation was made from a Greek as opposed to an Aramaic *Vorlage*.

This conclusion is only tentative, however, as the photograph of the fragment shows that the 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂 is followed by a long space, and the text beings again on the next line. Furthermore, the immediate context of 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂 is uncertain as the preceding words are not visible. Finally, the following line, correctly identified as part of 1 Enoch 8:1, contains 𐤅𐤁𐤂[below the problematic 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂, with the preceding letters not visible.²⁵⁵ Thus the 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂 could have been a copyist's error with the scribe stopping and beginning the line again below.

If the 𐤌𐤊𐤅𐤁𐤂 is indeed part of the original composition, it is possible that this verse ended with the clause *and all which was done upon it*. This would compare well with 1 Enoch 9:10 which contains the phrase *which is being done upon the earth* in a context which summarises 1 Enoch 7:6 and 8:4.

²⁵⁵ C.f. Milik (1976), 166-7, 345 & Plate VII.

1 Enoch 8:1

And ʿAzāzʿēl taught men the making of swords and daggers and shields and breastplates. And²⁵⁶ he revealed to them that which would be after these things, and the production of bracelets²⁵⁷ of every sort²⁵⁸ and adornments, and the use of antimony for the eyelid and the beautifying of the eyelashes, and stone from every precious and choice stone and all coloured dyes.²⁵⁹ And *there was* eternal change.²⁶⁰

Qumran fragment 4QEn^b 1 ii k gives the following text:²⁶¹

... to make swords of iron ...	לם]עבר חרבן די פרזולן [ש]
... and concerning silver to fashion it for bracelets ...	וּנָא וְעַל וּבְסַפָּא לְמַעְבְּדָה לְצַמִּידִין]
... concerning antimony and concerning eyeshadow ...	ע]ל בּוֹחֵלָא וְעַל צְרִי]דָא

There are a number of insertions on this fragment, two of which pertain to this verse. The first insertion וְעַל renders the ו of וּבְסַפָּא redundant.

²⁵⁶ EML 36, 2080 & 2440 omit *and*.

²⁵⁷ EML 2436 omits moves the *and* to the next word and reads *the production of them and bracelets*.

²⁵⁸ Knibb translates ܐܕܢܝܬܐ simply as *bracelets* - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 80. Dillmann noted, however, that the use of the second plural instead of the expected simple plural often carries the idea of *in their various kinds* and hence he renders this as *rings of every sort* - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 315.

²⁵⁹ EML 2080 & 2436 read *and every coloured dye*.

²⁶⁰ EML 2080 reads *and the world changed itself*.

²⁶¹ C.f. Milik (1976), 167-8, 345 & Plate VII.

The references in the Aramaic version to iron and silver do not recur in CP or the Ethiopic. Iron is also missing from Syncellus, although he does mention silver (see below). This observation adds weight to the suggestion that the Ethiopic version is based upon a text akin to CP.

EMML 2080 has the significant variant $\omega\text{ተዋልጠ} \text{ ፣ } \text{ዓለም}$ - *and the world changed (itself)* instead of $\omega\text{ተውላጠ} \text{ ፣ } \text{ዓለም}$ - *and (there was) eternal change*. This almost corresponds to Charles' reading of BM 485: $\omega\text{ተወለጠ} \text{ ፣ } \text{ዓለም}$ - *and the world was changed*.²⁶² This phrase is not attested in any of the other versions and its appearance in the Ethiopic tradition is a bit of a mystery. It follows immediately after a description of various types of make-up and methods by which a woman can decorate herself. This context may provide a clue to how the Ethiopic phrase came about.

We note firstly that the Ethiopic differs from CP in the addition of *every*:

<u>Eth.</u>	... $\omega\text{ኩሎ} \text{ ፣ } \text{ጥምዓታተ} \text{ ፣ } \text{ኅብር}$ <i>and every coloured dye</i>
<u>CP</u>	... καὶ τὰ βαφικὰ.	... <i>and the art of dyeing</i>

Secondly, we note that the Ethiopic ዓለም translates the Greek κόσμος which, as well as meaning *world*, can also mean *adornment* or *decoration*.²⁶³ Thirdly,

²⁶² Charles (1893), 66. Knibb also highlights Tana 9 and Berl as having similar readings - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 20.

²⁶³ It is used earlier in this verse with this meaning:

... καὶ ψέλια καὶ κόσμους *and armlets and adornments* ...

Note also its use in 1 Peter 3:3 again in relation to how women dress and decorate themselves.

we note that the Ethiopic verb ተዋለጠ does not mean simply *to change*, but means *to acquire something by an exchange*.

Thus it is possible that this verse originally ended with a summarising statement along the lines of *and every decoration/adornment was acquired by exchange*. This would have been a fitting summary of the verse, stating that the preceding methods by which women beautify themselves were given to the women in exchange for their sexual favours.

If this was indeed the case, then it would have been possible for the Ethiopic translators to mistranslate κόσμος with ዓለም, and move the ከሁሉ to the previous clause for the sake of sense, leaving the text as it now stands.²⁶⁴

Apart from the differences already noted, CP differs from the Ethiopic in the following respects:

- CP omits the initial *and*.
- CP has ᾿Αζαήλ - *Azaēl* rather than አዛዝኤል - ᾿Azāz’ēl. Syncellus agrees with CP in this verse, even though it differed from CP in 1 Enoch 6:7, which strengthens the case for ᾿Αζαήλ. It is also worth noting that EMMML 2080 has አዛዝኤል - ᾿Azāzēl. This could easily have been derived from አዛኤል - ᾿Azā’ēl. The ease with which ኤ can be

²⁶⁴ Black’s suggests that the Ethiopic ወተዋለጠ ፣ ዓለም “renders a phrase like (ἀντ)αλλάγματα κόσμου = תְּכֵלֶיִת תִּיקוּנֵין ‘varieties of adornments’” - c.f. Black (1985), 127. This suggestion is problematic, however, as it does not account for the presence of the verb ተዋለጠ - *to acquire something by exchange*. Black attempts to answer this by stating that the Ethiopic translator considered the teachings of *Asael* to be revolutionary changes. The present author does not consider this satisfactory and feels that any explanation for this phrase should take into account the presence of such an extraordinary verb.

confused with 𐤒 could be responsible for the commonly attested 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 in the Ethiopic tradition.²⁶⁵

- CP has the more general ὅπλα - *weapons* as opposed to σπαρτήρι - *daggers*.
- CP ends the first sentence of this verse with διδάγματα ἀγγέλων - *instructions of angels*, for which there is no equivalent in the Ethiopic.
- CP has the more sinister καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς - *and he showed them secretly*, whereas the Ethiopic simply has ወረሐሞ - *and he revealed to them*. This is another example of the Ethiopic presenting the actions of the angels in a more neutral way.²⁶⁶
- CP has τὰ μέταλλα καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν - *the metals and their working*, which is probably the original reading as it suits the context much better than the Ethiopic's ዘእምድንሬሆ - *that which would be after these things*. Charles' suggestion, that the Ethiopic tradition mistook τὰ μέταλλα for τὰ μετ' αὐτά, is still the best explanation for this divergence.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ This would render void past discussions on the form 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, which have asserted that it represents the interpolation into the Šemyaza narrative of the scapegoat tradition of Leviticus 16 - c.f. Hanson (1977), 220-226 and Grabbe (1987), 153-156. As no such form is attested in the Aramaic or the Greek versions, it seems better to conclude on the basis of the evidence at hand that no such interpolation occurred and that the name is simply an inner Ethiopic development.

²⁶⁶ This also occurred in 1 Enoch 7:1 - c.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 7:1-2.

²⁶⁷ Charles (1893), 66. Knibb suggests that the divergence could be attributed to each tradition misunderstanding the Aramaic ܡܬܠ - the Greek as *metal* and the Ethiopic as *after* - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 80. This is extremely problematic, however, for the following reasons: the Ethiopic for *after* is 𐩢𐩨𐩣 - *dehira*, so there is no reason why such an understanding would have occurred to the translators; the Aramaic ܡܬܠ is not attested in any of the Enoch fragments and would make no sense in the context; Knibb's suggestion assumes an Aramaic Vorlage for the Ethiopic version, which is by no means established. Regarding the Aramaic

- The Ethiopic has compensated for the above point by giving **ፖግባሪሆሙ** - *their production* for τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν - *their working*, and placing it as the start of the following clause.
- CP has only the one adjective ἐκλεκτοὺς - *choice* for the stones, whereas the Ethiopic has both ክቡር ፣ ወገሩ - *precious and choice*.

.....

As was the case with chapter seven,²⁶⁸ Syncellus again differs from the Ethiopic version and CP, embellishing the narrative as follows:

1 Enoch 8:1 - Syncellus

First *Azael*, the tenth of the chiefs, taught the making of swords and breastplates and every vessel of war and the metals of the earth and gold/money, how they should work and make them decorations for the women - and silver. And he showed them both the glittering²⁶⁹ and the beautifying of the face and the choice stones and the art of dyeing. And the sons of men made *things* for themselves and for their daughters and they violated and led astray the holy ones.

מסול, usually attested in Eastern Aramaic, the present author has been unable to find it in any of the Qumran Aramaic texts, nor in any other Western Aramaic dialect. Thus Knibb's positing of **מסול** in the Aramaic original is extremely unlikely.

The additions made by Syncellus again demonstrate that his priority was not to furnish the reader with a faithful translation of the *Book of Watchers*, but to incorporate his own version of the *Watcher* myth into his chronology. The main change Syncellus makes in this verse is of particular interest as it conforms to Stage Two in the development of this myth as outlined in the commentary to 1 Enoch 6:3. This change is heavily influenced by the *Watcher* story as told in Jubilees 4-5 and, coupled with Syncellus' enumeration of three types of giants in his version of 1 Enoch 7, presents a strong case that Syncellus not only knew of the traditions extant in Jubilees, but also fused them with the Enoch tradition in his account of the *Watchers*.

²⁶⁸ C.f. the section *Additional note on Syncellus' version of 1 Enoch 7* after the notes to 1 Enoch 7:2.

²⁶⁹ Pres. act. inf. of στίλβω - *to make shine, glitter, gleam*.

1 Enoch 8:2

And there was great impiety and much fornication²⁷⁰. And they sinned²⁷¹ and all their ways became corrupt²⁷².

CP differs from the Ethiopic as follows:

- CP has καὶ ἐπόρνευσαν - *and they committed fornication* as opposed to ወብዙጊ ፣ ዘፍፍ - *and much fornication*.
- CP has καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν - *and they were led astray* as opposed to ወስሕቱ - *and they sinned/went astray*.
- CP has καὶ ἡφάνισθησαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν - *and they perished in all their ways* as opposed to ወግሰና ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ፍናዊህሙ - *and all their ways became corrupt*.

The above differences between CP and the Ethiopic are probably due to the ambiguity of this verse in the Greek version:

And there was much impiety and they committed fornication
and they were led astray and they perished in all their ways.

²⁷⁰ EML 1768 reads *and they fornicated* instead of *fornication*.

²⁷¹ EML 36 inserts *and they fornicated*.

²⁷² EML 36, 1768, 1950, 2080 & 2440 express this with a singular verb – *and each of their ways became corrupt*. Furthermore, EML 2440 also uses a singular noun – *their way*.

The problem is that it is unclear who is meant to be understood as *they* - are *they* the angels or the humans?²⁷³

The Ethiopic translators appear to have approached this problem in a rather cunning way. The first ambiguity is removed by simply stating that there was *much fornication*, hence removing the need to apply any subject to the verb. The second ambiguity is avoided by stating simply that *they sinned*. Thus the element of being led astray is removed and the translators are not left having to decide just who led whom astray. All are blamed and the potential for sympathy for one group, which is present in CP, is removed. The third ambiguity is similarly dealt with.

Thus the Ethiopic translators resisted the temptation to specify which group was meant by *they*, which would have led to a certain degree of sympathy for that group, but removed the ambiguity by applying the verse to both the women and the angels.

.....

²⁷³ This ambiguity is chiefly caused by the lack of any differentiation in Greek between the masculine and feminine plural verbal forms. Thus we are not sure whether the human women or the angels are being referred to. As the verb πορνεύω can also mean *to prostitute*, this could well refer to the human women - especially in the context of the previous verse which may have finished with a summarising statement that the women gave themselves to the angels in exchange for the knowledge of various beautifying techniques. Furthermore, the translators are faced with the problem of whether it is the angels leading astray the women, or the women leading astray the angels. The present author suggests that CP intended to portray the idea that the angels led the women astray, and it is the women who subsequently perished in all their ways. This is because the angels do not perish in this narrative until the eschaton.

As we saw in the notes to 1 Enoch 8:1, Syncellus' solution was to blame the human women for the seduction and leading astray of the angels. Syncellus then adds this statement:

And there was much impiety upon the earth and they destroyed their ways.

The inspiration behind Syncellus' addition of *upon the earth* and *they destroyed their ways* appears to have been Genesis 6:12b, which states:

... בי-השחית כל-בשר את-דרכו על-הארץ:

... *for all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth.*²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ This was observed by Black (1985), 127. Black succumbs, however, to his habit of including Syncellus' additions in his translation, in this case including *on the earth* - c.f. Black (1985), 29. This habit is very problematic methodologically.

1 Enoch 8:3

ʿAmēzārāk²⁷⁵ taught all²⁷⁶ magicians²⁷⁷ and cutters of roots,
ʿArmāros²⁷⁸ loosed incantations, and Baraqaʿāl astrologers, and
Kokabʿēl omens, and Temʿēl taught astrology and²⁷⁹ ʿAsrādʿēl
taught the course of the moon.

From 4QEn^a and 4QEn^b we can restore the following:²⁸⁰

שמי חזה אלף חב[רון] ... חרש ל[ב...] שמו וחרטמו ותנש[ין] ...
א[לף] נחשי כובבין ויקא[ל] ... ארע[תקף] אלף נחש[י] ... ש[מ] שיאל
אלף נחשי ש[מ]ש ... וכולהון שר[י]ן לגליה רזין לנשיהן .

Šemiḥazah taught cha[rms] ... sorcery ... [inc]antations and
magic and wisd[om ... ta]ught the omens of the stars. Ziqʿe[l
... ʿAr]teqif taught the omens [of ... Šam]šīʿel taught the omens
of the s[un] ... And they all began to reveal mysteries to their
wives.

Thus it is clear, even from the first word, that this verse has suffered much in
transmission. With the help of CP, however, we are able to reconstruct this

²⁷⁵ EMML 2080 adds *and* at the start of this verse.

²⁷⁶ EMML 1768 2080 2436 omit *all*.

²⁷⁷ Dillmann renders this as *exorcists* - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 252.

²⁷⁸ EMML 1768 2080 2436 read *and* ʿArmāros.

²⁷⁹ EMML 2436 omits *and*.

verse. Firstly, we note that both the Ethiopic and CP agree in having six angels named in this verse whilst, due to the fragmentary nature of the Qumran fragments, the Aramaic only furnishes four. The following table presents a summary of the evidence.

<u>Ethiopic</u>	<u>CP</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>
አሜራራክ - <i>ʿAmēzārāk</i> magic herbalism	Σεμιαζᾶς - <i>Semiazas</i> divination herbalism	שמי חזיה - <i>Šemiḥazah</i> charms
አርማሮስ - <i>ʿArmāros</i> incantations	Ἀρμαρῶς - <i>Armaros</i> incantations	???? sorcery, magic and wisdom
በረቀሳል - <i>Baraqṣal</i> astrology	Ῥακιήλ - <i>Rakiel</i> astrology	???? ²⁸¹ astrology
ኮከብኤል - <i>Kokabʿel</i> omens	Χωχιήλ - <i>Chochiel</i> observation of omens	זיקאלי - <i>Ziqʿel</i> ????
ጥምጫል - <i>Temʿel</i> astronomy	Σαθιήλ - <i>Sathiel</i> astronomy	ארקעף - <i>ʿArʿteqif</i> some sort of divination
አስራድኤል - <i>ʿAsradʿel</i> the course of the moon	Σεριήλ - <i>Seriel</i> the study of the moon	שמשי - <i>Šamšīʿel</i> some sort of divination

From the table, we observe that the Ethiopic version and CP agree in the content and order of the arts taught to mankind by the angels.

²⁸⁰ For 4QEn^a see Milik (1976), 157-8, 342 & Plate IV. For 4QEn^b see Milik (1976), 170-1, 345 & Plate VII.

²⁸¹ Knibb claims that the Aramaic fragments give the reading נחשי כוכבין אלה - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 81. Whilst this may have been so, Knibb's claim is problematic as the נחשי כוכבין is part of Milik's restorations and not the fragments themselves - c.f. Milik (1976), 157-8 & 170-1. Thus the table above leaves the space for the angel's name blank.

<u>Angel 1</u>	ܐܡܝܙܪܐܟ	<i>ʾAmēzārāk</i>
	Σεμιαζᾱς	<i>Semiazas</i>
	שמיחזח	<i>Šemiḥazah</i>

The Aramaic and Greek versions preserve the correct reading. The Ethiopic version does not correspond to any of the angelic names listed in 1 Enoch 6:7. Thus it is probably the result of an inner-Ethiopic corruption in which ܐ was mistaken for ሰ, and ܚ was mistaken for ሰ.²⁸² We note also that the Greek version specifies the nature of the charms mentioned in the Aramaic, listing both the mantic and herbal aspects. The Ethiopic follows the Greek in this line of interpretation.

<u>Angel 2</u>	ܐܪܡܪܐܝܐ	<i>ʾArmāros</i>
	Ἀρμαρῶς	<i>Armaros</i>

The Ethiopic corresponds to the ܐܪܡܪܐܝܐ of 1 Enoch 6:7. It is possible that these names translate the Aramaic ܐܪܡܪܐܝܐ from 1 Enoch 6:7. All three traditions agree in the nature of the arts taught by this angel.

<u>Angel 3</u>	ܒܪܩܝܐܠ	<i>Baraqaʿal</i>
	Ῥακιήλ	<i>Rakiel</i>

In contrast to 1 Enoch 6:7 (ܒܪܩܝܐܠ - *Saraqūyal*), the Ethiopic version here preserves the correct reading of this name. CP has omitted the initial Βα- off Βαϣακιήλ. It is certain that these names translate the Aramaic ܒܪܩܝܐܠ from 1 Enoch 6:7. The Ethiopic and CP agree in ascribing astrology to this angel.

²⁸² C.f. Knibb (1978), II, 82. The only problem here is the occurrence of the ܐ - this could be due to the Ethiopic ጸደቅ - *a sign of the Zodiac*.

This makes the restoration of **ברקאל** problematic, however, as one would expect **בוכנאל** to be listed as the teacher of astrology.

<u>Angel 4</u>	ኮከብኤል	<i>Kokabʿel</i>
	Χωχιήλ	<i>Chochiel</i>
	לִיקְאֵל	<i>Ziqʿel</i>

Again, it is in this verse that the Ethiopic preserves the correct reading of the name in contrast to 1 Enoch 6:7 which, in most manuscripts, reads **አኪቤኤል** (*ʿAkibēʿel*). CP and the Ethiopic agree in both the name of the angel and the art taught, but they have probably deviated from the original. It is virtually certain that these names translate the Aramaic **בוכנאל** from 1 Enoch 6:7, and that their position in the list which equates them with **לִיקְאֵל** is a later corruption. The ascribing of omens to this angel must also be in doubt as the more likely art taught by **בוכנאל** would be either astronomy or astrology.²⁸³

<u>Angel 5</u>	ጥምኤል	<i>Temʿel</i>
	Σαθιήλ	<i>Sathiel</i>
	Ἐϥῥῑῑῑ	<i>ʿArʿeqif</i>

CP and the Ethiopic agree in ascribing astronomy to this angel, but there is no agreement on the name. The Ethiopic **ጥምኤል** - *Temʿel* corresponds to the **ጣሜኤል** - *Tāmēʿel* of 1 Enoch 6:7, which in turn corresponds to the **Ταμιήλ** of CP in 1 Enoch 6:7. Thus it is possible that **Ταμιήλ** was the original reading

in the Greek version. Whether or not this was the case, we still need to account for the Σαθιήλ in CP. We note that Σαθιήλ also occurs in 1 Enoch 6:7, so it is likely that CP's *Vorlage* was damaged at this point in 1 Enoch 8:3, and the copier restored Σαθιήλ from 1 Enoch 6:7. This still leaves the problem of why this particular name was chosen - see the comments on Angel 6 below.

<u>Angel 6</u>	አሰራድኤል	ʾAsrādʾel
	Σεπιήλ	Seriel
	ሄጽ፱[Šamšīʾel

The Ethiopic አሰራድኤል does not correspond to any of the names in the list of 1 Enoch 6:7. It is possible that it is an inner-Ethiopic development based, in part, on the use of the root አሰራ in the context of black magic.²⁸⁴

CP's Σεπιήλ does not correspond to any of the names in its angel list of 1 Enoch 6:7 (except for Σεμιήλ, but this assumes a confusion of M and P which is only likely in the lower case). We note, however, that it does resemble the angel Σαριήλ who is credited with the equivalent role in Syncellus' rendering of this verse (see below). Thus it is possible that, within the Greek tradition, the *Vorlage* was obscure at this point and both of the last two angel names were in need of restoration by the copyist. The Σεπιήλ was restored almost correctly, judging by Syncellus' Σαριήλ, and the copyist's

²⁸³ Dimant remarks on how most of the teachings of the angels are related to the name of the angel who taught it - Dimant (1978), 324.

²⁸⁴ For more on this root, see the work by Stefan Strelcyn cited in Leslau (1991), 44.

choice of Σαθιήλ from his list of 1 Enoch 6:7, for the more obscured previous name, was influenced its similarity to Σεριήλ.

.....

As we have now come to expect, Syncellus again deviates markedly from the text of Enoch with his usual embellishments. It is in this verse, however, that Syncellus, alongside his embellishments, also preserves readings which are original and better than that preserved in either the Ethiopic or CP.

1 Enoch 8:3 - Syncellus

And yet their chief, Semiazas, taught *them* to be aroused²⁸⁵ against the mind and the roots of the green herbs of the earth. And the eleventh, Pharmaros, taught sorcery²⁸⁶, divination, wisdom and the loosening of spells. The ninth taught astronomy and the fourth taught astrology. And the eighth taught divination by observing the heaven and the third taught the omens of the earth. And the seventh taught the omens of the sun and the twentieth taught the omens of the moon. All these began to unveil the mysteries to their women

²⁸⁵ The Greek phrase here is difficult - ἐδίδαξεν εἶναι ὀργὰς. Knibb would read ἐπαοιδὰς for εἶναι ὀργὰς, giving *taught spells* which is much better - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 82. For a contrary view, however, c.f. Black (1985), 128.

²⁸⁶ The Greek φαρμακείας can also mean medicine, but the context appears to demand a more mantic translation. C.f. the text of Syncellus at 1 Enoch 7:2 for another use of φαρμακείας with ἐπαοιδίας.

and to their children.²⁸⁷ And after these things the giants began

to devour the flesh of the men.

... and the fourth taught astrology.

The fourth angel in Syncellus' list of 1 Enoch 6:7 is Χωβαβιήλ which, being an error for Χωχαβιήλ when translating from Aramaic into Greek,²⁸⁸ is far better suited to the role of teaching astrology than the angels named in the Ethiopic and CP.

... and the twentieth taught the omens of the moon.

The twentieth angel in Syncellus' list of 1 Enoch 6:7 is Σαθιήλ, hence the conclusions reached above concerning the restoration of the fifth angel name in CP.

.....

There is considerable evidence in this verse for the reliance of the Ethiopic version on a Greek rather than an Aramaic *Vorlage*. This evidence is based upon the use of the angelic name *Kokab'el*. As noted above, it is likely that

²⁸⁷ Compare with the Aramaic which is translated above. This is the first instance of Syncellus alone preserving a reading found in the Aramaic.

the Aramaic version used כוכבאל to instruct mankind in either astronomy or astrology. This would be the most natural use of the name, as is shown by another Semitic witness:

Michael the Syrian

... ܟܟܒܐܠ ܙܝܪܐ ܡܡ ܕܐܠܦ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܐܫܬܪܐܢܝܬܐ ...

... of whom Kokab'il, who was head of 200, taught the sons of man astronomy ...

The same would be expected for the Ethiopic which also has the Semitic ከከብ (kokab) = star. But this is not the case as the Ethiopic follows CP in having Kokab'el instruct humanity in omens. This is a clear indication that the Ethiopic version was based upon a Greek *Vorlage* akin to CP.

²⁸⁸ C.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 6:7.

1 Enoch 8:4

And at the destruction of men, they cried out and their voice²⁸⁹
reached heaven.

CP differs only slightly with τῶν οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλυμένων ἡ βο[ή]
εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνέβη - *And so the cry of the perishing men ascended unto
heaven.* Thus it appears that the Ethiopic translators have expanded this
verse a little for the sake of making a sensible reading in their own language.

From 4QEn^a,²⁹⁰ it appears that this verse originally had the phrase
מִן אֶרֶץ - *from the ground/earth.* We also know from 4QEn^b that the word
קָלָא was used²⁹¹. This is reminiscent of Genesis 4:10b in which the LORD says
to Cain:

... קול דמי אחיך צעקים אלי מן-האדמה:

... the voice of the blood of your brother cries to me from the ground.

.....

Syncellus once again deviates from the text, making a number of additions:²⁹²

²⁸⁹ EMMML 2436 reads 𐤒𐤕𐤁𐤏 - *their cry/complaint.*

²⁹⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 157-8, 342 & Plate IV.

²⁹¹ C.f. Milik (1976), 170-1, 345 & Plate VII.

²⁹² Thus Knibb (1978), II, 84. The contrary view is given by Black (1985), 129.

1 Enoch 8:4 - Syncellus^a

And the men began to decrease upon the earth, and the remaining ones cried out unto heaven concerning their ill-treatment speaking *for* their memorial to be brought before the Lord.

1 Enoch 8:4 - Syncellus^b

Then the men cried out unto the heaven saying, "Bring in our suit to the Most High and our destruction before the great judgement/glory, before the Lord of all lords in greatness.

1 Enoch 9:1

And at that time²⁹³ Michael and Gabriel,²⁹⁴ Suriel and Uriel²⁹⁵
watched from heaven and they saw the abundance of blood
that was being spilled upon the earth²⁹⁶ and all the iniquity
that was being done upon the earth.

The main problem with this verse has always been the differences in the
angelic names between the versions. Until the discovery of the Aramaic
fragments, the evidence was as follows:

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Fourth</u>
<u>Ethiopic</u>	Michael	Gabriel	Sariel	Uriel
<u>CP</u>	Michael	Uriel	Raphael	Gabriel
<u>Syncellus</u>	Michael	Uriel	Raphael	Gabriel

This caused Charles to conclude that the Ethiopic's Sariel was incorrect, and
that the original was Raphael as attested in both Greek versions.²⁹⁷ This

²⁹³ EML 36, 2440 omit the initial *and*.

²⁹⁴ EML 1950, 2080, 2436, 2440 insert *and*. Note also that EML 2436 inverts the names Gabriel and Suriel.

²⁹⁵ The translation of the angelic names given above is according to EML 36, 2080 and 2436 which terminate the last two with Δ - *-l*. This is better than the ? - *-n* used in the other manuscripts.

²⁹⁶ EML 1768 inserts *beneath*.

²⁹⁷ Charles (1893), 67.

leaves the foursome Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel which we would expect.²⁹⁸

The discovery of the Aramaic fragments, however, has caused this conclusion to be rejected. Milik asserted that fragment 4QEn^b 1 iii gave the following reading:²⁹⁹

מיכאל ושריאל ... Mi]chael and Sarie[l ...

Thus Milik claimed that the original name of the second archangel was in fact Sariel.³⁰⁰ This leaves the possibility that the Ethiopic has actually preserved the original reading, rather than the reading attested in both the Greek versions, which could be evidence for an Aramaic *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic version. Neither Knibb nor Black challenge Milik's reading of this fragment.³⁰¹

If we accept Milik's conclusion, the table given above would be expanded as follows:³⁰²

²⁹⁸ C.f. for example Tobit 12:15.

²⁹⁹ Milik (1976), 170-1, 345 & Plate VII.

³⁰⁰ Milik (1976), 172-3.

³⁰¹ C.f. Knibb (1978), II, 84; Black (1985), 129 - Black actually states, on the basis of Milik's reading, that the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 9:1 "preserves an old, probably the oldest, tradition of the names of the four archangels". Black cites 1QM IX 14-16 as further evidence that these four archangels are the earliest to be grouped in this way, and asserts that the change of Sariel to Uriel occurred later.

³⁰² Included in the following table, in order to enable the subsequent analysis, are two additional elements: The other angelic names attested in 4QEn^a; the subsequent references to the archangels in 1 Enoch 10 as they stand in each of the versions.

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Fourth</u>
<u>Ethiopic</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9	Sariel (Note - Raphael in 1 Enoch 10:4)	Uriel
<u>CP</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Uriel	Raphael 1 Enoch 10:4	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9
<u>Syncellus</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Uriel 1 Enoch 10:1	Raphael 1 Enoch 10:4	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9
<u>Aramaic</u>	Michael	Sariel	Raphael	???

As we can see from this table, the following conclusions can be regarded as firm:

- The first archangel was Michael. Furthermore, the Ethiopic and both the Greek versions agree that Michael was the angel commissioned in 1 Enoch 10:11. Thus Michael was probably also mentioned in the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 10:11.³⁰³
- The Ethiopic and both the Greek versions agree that Gabriel was one of the archangels, and that he subsequently occurs in 1 Enoch 10:9. Thus the empty box in the Aramaic row should probably read:

Gabriel
1 Enoch 10:9

³⁰³ In 1 Enoch 10:12, Michael is sent against the wicked angels to bind them under the hills of the earth. This type of role is elsewhere assigned to Michael, so we can safely assume that he was named in the original of 1 Enoch 10:11. For example, in Revelation 12:7, he leads his angels against the *dragon and his angels*.

- Both the Greek versions have Raphael, and agree that he was commissioned in 1 Enoch 10:4. Furthermore, this agrees with the Ethiopic which also has Raphael commissioned in 1 Enoch 10:4, even though he is not mentioned in 1 Enoch 9:1. Thus it is likely that Raphael was mentioned in the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 9:1.³⁰⁴ It is also probable that the Ethiopic originally had Raphael in this verse, hence its occurrence in 1 Enoch 10:4, and that it changed to either Sariel or Uriel within the Ethiopic tradition.

These conclusions are problematic, however, as they lead to the following suggestion:

- As Uriel is mentioned by the Ethiopic and both the Greek versions, and identified by Syncellus as the angel commissioned in 1 Enoch 10:1, it is probably Sariel which is erroneous and should be replaced with Raphael.

Thus Milik's conclusion that Sariel was one of the original archangels is contradicted.

The solution to this problem is probably to be found in Milik's reading of fragment 4QEn^b 1 iii. A close examination of the photograph of the fragment reveals that there are at least two alternative readings, both of

³⁰⁴ This is also confirmed by 4QEnGiants^a ii 12 which states regarding the cry of the earth (or humanity): עַד רַפְּאֵל מָטָה - *unto Raphael it reaches* - c.f. Fitzmyer and Harrington (1978), 72-3.

which do not require the restoration of the ל.³⁰⁵ Firstly, the reading ישריִא - *the upright ones* is just as valid as Milik's reading ושריִאנל. If the reading ישריִא is correct, then the Aramaic would have followed the first mention of the holy angels with a statement of their upright character in order to contrast them with the wicked angels mentioned previously in the narrative. Another equally possible reading is ושריִא - *and the chiefs/ministering spirits*, which is often used in relation to angels.

In support of this reading is the context in which Michael is found in 4QEn^a:

אדיק מיכאל - Michael looked (with anxiety)

The verb אדיק is clearly the third person singular and, hence, we would not expect the subject to be the plural מיכאל ושריאל ורפאל וגבריאל as Milik reconstructs.³⁰⁶ The present author would suggest the following reconstruction:

אדיק מיכאל ושריאל ורפאל וגבריאל

Michael looked (with anxiety) and the ministering
spirits Uriel and Raphael and Gabriel

Thus the above table should probably be restored as follows:

³⁰⁵ In fact, it is probable that Milik's restoration of the ל and his reading were influenced by the erroneous Sarii of the Ethiopic version.

³⁰⁶ Milik (1976), 157.

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Fourth</u>
<u>Ethiopic</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9	Sariel (Note - Raphael in 1 Enoch 10:4)	Uriel 1 Enoch 10:1
<u>CP</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Uriel 1 Enoch 10:1	Raphael 1 Enoch 10:4	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9
<u>Syncellus</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Uriel 1 Enoch 10:1	Raphael 1 Enoch 10:4	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9
<u>Aramaic</u>	Michael 1 Enoch 10:11	Uriel 1 Enoch 10:1	Raphael 1 Enoch 10:4	Gabriel 1 Enoch 10:9

This leaves two developments to explain - the change in the order of the archangels and the change from Raphael to Sariel. Firstly, the change in the order of the archangels, within the Ethiopic tradition, was possibly to group them according to status. Both Michael and Gabriel are mentioned in the Old Testament, whilst the others are attested in the Apocrypha. Secondly, the change in name was probably due to a damaged *Vorlage*, and the name Sariel was chosen from 1 Enoch 20:6 as it appears in the Greek version.

.....

Apart from the angelic names, there are other differences between the Greek and Ethiopic versions. CP has no equivalent of the Ethiopic's ወክሉ ፣ ዓመዓ ፣ ዘይትገበር ፣ በዲበ ፣ ምድር - *and all the iniquity that was being done upon the earth*. It is likely that CP is at fault here³⁰⁷ and the

³⁰⁷ Knibb (1978), II, 84.

original did indeed have the twinning of *blood* and *iniquity*, as attested in the Ethiopic and along the lines of Syncellus:

And having looked upon the abundance of blood which
had been poured out upon the earth, and every impiety and
iniquity which had happened upon it ...³⁰⁸

This is also confirmed by the Aramaic ܕܡ ܕܢܝܢܐ and ܕܡܢܐ. Furthermore, the text of 1 Enoch 9:9 as attested in CP, in which the angels are summarising the previous events, includes the phrase

... ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἐπλήσθη αἵματος καὶ ἀδικίας.

... the whole earth has been filled *with* blood and iniquity.

This is most probably referring back to 1 Enoch 9:1.

.....

Both the Ethiopic and CP agree in having two verbs of visual perception for the angels in this verse:

Ethiopic ለወጹ - *they watched*

ርእዮ - *they saw*

CP παρ[α]κύψαντες - *having stooped to look*

ἐθεάσ[αν]το - *they beheld*

³⁰⁸ The Greek text is given under 1 Enoch 9:2 in the *Text* section in order to conform to Black's verse division - c.f. Black (1970), 23. As Charles noted, however, Syncellus has no equivalent of 1 Enoch 9:2, so this verse division is a little misleading - c.f. Charles (1893), 67.

This differs from Syncellus who has inserted one of audible perception:

Syncellus ἀκούσαντες - *having heard*

παρέκυψαν - *they stooped to look*

(c.f. verse 2) θεασάμενοι - *having beheld*

Thus Syncellus has changed the initial method of perception for the sake of sense - it makes more sense to hear the cries of the earth than to look at them.

This is yet another example of Syncellus showing that the priority of his Enoch quote is sense rather than content.

.....

Syncellus contains the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ - *out of the sanctuary of heaven*, which is not attested in either CP or the Ethiopic. Milik's reading and restoration of fragment 4QEn^a 1 iv as מן קרן שי - *from the sanctuary* would appear to confirm this as original.³⁰⁹ This could be, however, another example of Milik's readings being influenced by a later erroneous element. The reading מן קרן - *because* is just as valid,³¹⁰ so one

³⁰⁹ Milik (1976), 157-8, 342 & Plate IV.

³¹⁰ This is especially valid in the context of the discussion on the relationship of this passage with Habakkuk 2:7-8 and its commentary from Qumran - c.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 9:1. Milik's placing of fragments 4QEn^a 1 iv f & g is by no means certain, and the presence of the words דם and חסמה could mean that the latter part of this verse was paraphrased at 1 Enoch 9:1. If this was the case, then the reading מן קרן would be the start of this paraphrase.

must not be hasty in confirming Syncellus on the basis of an incomplete word in the Aramaic fragments.³¹¹

³¹¹ Black accepts and discusses Milik's restoration - c.f. Black (1985), 129.

1 Enoch 9:2

And they said among themselves, “The earth laid bare sends the sound of their cries³¹² up to the gate of heaven”.

The Qumran fragment 4QEn^a 1 iv f provides the following:³¹³

ואמרו קדם[והי] ... תרעי שמי[ה]

And they said before [him] ... the gates of heaven.

The restoration קדמוהי – *before him* is problematic as it corresponds to none of the later versions. Milik restored קדם[ניהן] and translated it *to themselves*,³¹⁴ which is equally problematic as this is not the normal use of the preposition קדם.³¹⁵ Thus the present author’s restoration of קדמוהי – *before him*, referring to the Most High before whom the angels made their intercession, is probably the best suggestion despite its difference to the later versions.

CP does not represent the Ethiopic ስረቅ - *laid bare*, but there is not enough evidence to draw any conclusions on whether this element is original or not. For the text of Syncellus, see the notes to 1 Enoch 9:1.

³¹² Lit. *cries the sound of their cries* - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 432-3, where Dillmann discusses such examples of verbs which govern an accusative derived from themselves for the sake of emphasis.

³¹³ Milik (1976), 157-8, 342 & Plate IV.

³¹⁴ Milik (1976), 157-8.

³¹⁵ C.f. for example the use of the preposition קדם in the Genesis Apocryphon 19:25; 20:32; 21:3; 22:9. In every case it is used in the sense of *before* rather than *among* or *to*.

1 Enoch 9:3

“And now to you, O holy ones³¹⁶ of heaven, the souls of men
complain³¹⁷ while they say, ‘Present for us a suit unto the Most
High³¹⁸.’”

The first clause is not attested in any of the other versions, and interrupts the
flow of the narrative, so it is possible that it is an inner Ethiopic addition and
that the verse originally began with *The souls of men*, as in CP.³¹⁹

ἐντυγχάνουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν The souls of men petition saying,
ἀνθρώπων λεγόντων
Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν κρίσιν ἡμῶν πρὸς “Bring in our suit to the Most High”.
τὸν ὕψιστ[ον].

The Aramaic דִּי קַבְלָן, however, led Milik to restore the text as follows in
order to conform it to the longer Ethiopic version:³²⁰

[וַאֲמָרוּ לְקַדְיָשִׁי שְׁמִיָּה בָּעֵן לְבֵן אַנְתָּן קַדְיָשִׁי שְׁמִיָּה] דִּי קַבְלָן [נַפְשַׁת בְּנֵי אַנְשָׁא]

³¹⁶ EML 1950, 2080 omit the vocative O.

³¹⁷ EML 1768 reads *And now the souls of men complain concerning them to the Holy Ones of heaven*.

³¹⁸ EML 2080, 2436 read *Unto the Most High present for us a suit*.

³¹⁹ Contra Knibb who suggests that the first clause is omitted in the Greek versions, possibly by homoioteleuton - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 85. The present author fails to see how such a confusion may have arisen.

³²⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 158. This restoration appears to have been accepted by Knibb, although he does admit that “the evidence is not very strong” - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 85.

And they said to the holy ones of heaven, "Now, it is to you, O holy ones of heaven, whom the souls of the sons of men complain ...

An alternative restoration, which preserves the flow of the narrative and conforms to CP, is:

For [the souls of the sons of men] complain ... **די קבלן [נפשת בני אנשא]**

Syncellus' two versions of this verse differ considerably, with Syn^b being closest to the original:

εἰσελθόντες εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους	Having entered, they said to one
ὅτι	another,

Τὰ πνεύματα καὶ αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν	"The spirits and the souls of men
ἀνθρώπων ἐντυγχάνουσι	petition, groaning and saying,
στενάζοντα καὶ λέγοντα	

Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν πρὸς	'Bring in our supplication to the Most
τὸν ὕψιστον.	High.'

Thus Syn^b inserts the first clause for the sake of sense and expands the second clause.

The main difference in Syn^a is the addition of the following at the end:³²¹

καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν ἐνώπιον	And our destruction before the glory of
τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλωσύνης	majesty, before the Lord of all lords in
ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων	greatness.
πάντων τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ.	

³²¹ This addition, and those made in the following verse, mark Syncellus' first Enoch quote drawing to a close. Black correctly suggests that part of this clause (ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων πάντων τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ) is an expansion, but his suggestion that it comes from 1 Enoch 9:4 is doubtful - c.f. Black (1985), 130. The expansion is much larger than Black identified, and appears to be of the translator's own imagination.

1 Enoch 9:4

And they said to their Lord the King³²², “Lord of lords and³²³
God of gods and King of kings, and the throne of whose glory
is in all the generations of the world, and Thy name is holy and
praised in all the generations of³²⁴ the world, and ³²⁵ blessed
and praised³²⁶.

From 4QEn^b, we can restore the following:³²⁷

... מרנא רב[א י] א מרא עלמא ... [בורסא] יקרך לכל דר דריא די מן על[מא]

... our great Lord, O³²⁸ Lord of the world ... [the throne of] your glory is for
all the generations which are from eter[nity] ...

EMML 2080 preserves a better reading for the latter part of this verse,
replacing the 3.m.s. possessive pronominal suffix with the 2.m.s. and
eliminating the cumbersome *and*:

שננלז : הנהלת - *the throne of your glory*

³²² EMML 1950, 2440 insert an accusative marker - *to the King*.

³²³ EMML 2436 omits *and*.

³²⁴ EMML 2080, 2436 omit *the generations of*.

³²⁵ EMML 36 omits *and thy name is holy and praised in all the generations of the world and* by homoioteleuton.

³²⁶ EMML 2436 adds 2.m.s. pronoun - *and blessed and praised art thou*.

³²⁷ Milik (1976), 171-2, 345 & Plate VIII. C.f. also Knibb (1978), II, 86.

³²⁸ Milik restored מרנא רב[א י] א מרא עלמא here, which he translated as *our great Lord, (thou) art Lord of the world* - c.f. Milik (1976), 171-2. The present author chose to restore with

This agrees with CP which reads ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου - *the throne of your glory*.³²⁹ This also appears to be confirmed by the Aramaic יקרר.

Furthermore, CP and EMMML 2080 also agree in the omission of the second *the generations of*.

CP εἰς πάντα τοὺς αἰῶνας - *unto all the ages*

EMML 2080 ውስተ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ዓለም - *in all the world/eternity*

Thus the readings preserved by EMMML 2080 in this verse are probably the most original.

CP preserves a reading reasonably close to the Ethiopic, which is remarkable considering the scope there is within this verse for variation. Apart from the cases discussed above, CP differs from the Ethiopic in the following ways:

- CP omits *the King*.
- CP has the 2.m.s. pronoun at the start of the angels' intercession.³³⁰
- CP has βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων - *King of the ages/eternity* rather than *King of kings*.
- CP has three adjectives for the name of God: καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μέγα καὶ εὐλογητὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας - *and your holy and great and blessed name is unto all the ages*.

the vocative particle **Ń** - O as the photograph of the fragment indicates that there may not have been space enough for three letters in the gap.

³²⁹ This is also confirmed by both the Syncellus quotes - see below.

³³⁰ The addition of the 2.m.s. pronoun by EMMML 2436 is probably an attempt to compensate for its loss in the Ethiopic tradition.

As CP has already been seen to be closer to the Aramaic in this verse, the above differences are possibly due to inner-Ethiopic developments.

.....

It is in this verse that Syncellus' first Enoch quote draws to an end:

Syncellus^a

And they said to the Lord of the ages,³³¹ "You are the God of gods and Lord of lords and the King of kings and God of the ages, and the throne of your glory is unto all the generations of the ages, and your sacred and blessed name is unto all the ages and beyond. Then the Most High commanded the holy archangels and they bound their leaders and they threw them into the Abyss until the judgement and beyond. And thus testifies Enoch.

Thus Syncellus' final embellishment is a rather hurried summary of 1 Enoch 10. Syncellus' second Enoch quote continues well into chapter 10, however, and is in no need of such embellishing:

Syncellus^b

³³¹ This is the closest any of the witnesses come to rendering the Aramaic מֶלֶךְ עֲלָמָא - c.f. Milik (1976), 171-2, 345 & Plate VIII. The fact that it does not occur in Syncellus^b, however, makes one wonder whether its occurrence in Syncellus^a is due to a rather fortuitous

And having approached, the four archangels said to the Lord, “You are the God of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings and God of the men. And the throne of your glory is unto all the generations of the ages and your sacred and blessed name is unto all the ages.”

1 Enoch 9:5

“Thou³³² hast made everything, and dominion over all³³³ is with Thee³³⁴, and everything is uncovered and open in front of Thee, and Thou seest everything, and nothing can be concealed from Thee³³⁵.”

CP does not represent the final two clauses of this verse:

σὺ γὰρ ἐποίησας τὰ πάντα	For Thou hast made everything
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων	and have all the power
καὶ πάντα ἐνώπιόν σου φανερά	And everything is manifest and
καὶ ἀκάλυπτα.	uncovered before you.

embellishment by Syncellus. The Aramaic **ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܪܐ** is part of the angels' address to the Most High whereas, in Syncellus, it is used to introduce the angels' intercession.

³³² EML 2436 reads *And Thou*.

³³³ For the translation of **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܐ** as *dominion over all*, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 463.

³³⁴ Dillmann comments on this particular use of the preposition **ܕܡܪܐ** as having the sense of the Latin *penes* - i.e. **ܕܡܪܐ** = *is (to be found) within Thee* - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 400.

³³⁵ For this rendering of the final clause, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 494.

These final clauses are attested in Syncellus, however, which reads at the end of this verse:

καὶ πάντα ὁρᾷς	and Thou seest all
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ κρυβῆναί σε	and nothing can be concealed from
δύναται	Thee

Thus it is probably CP which is at fault here and Syncellus and the Ethiopic preserve the original reading.

1 Enoch 9:6

“See then³³⁶ what ʿAzāzʾēl has done, how³³⁷ he taught all iniquity upon the earth and he revealed³³⁸ the secrets of eternity which were made in heaven.”

The second part of this verse appears to have been problematic for translators. CP has καὶ ἐδήλωσεν τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ αἰῶνος τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ - *and he declared the mysteries of the age which are in heaven*. The Ethiopic translates this well, adding ይገባሉ - *they were made* to clarify the meaning but preserving the sense of CP. Syncellus, however, deviates from both CP and the Ethiopic, crucially putting ὁ αἰὼν in the dative: καὶ ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ αἰῶνι τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ - *and he revealed to the generation that which is in heaven*. Whilst this rendering makes the most sense, it is likely that the reading preserved in CP and the Ethiopic is more original and that Syncellus altered the text.

³³⁶ Or *Now see*

³³⁷ For the rendering of **ἡἡσ** as *how*, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 537-8.

³³⁸ EMM 1768 reads *and they revealed*. Knibb cites a further five manuscripts with this reading - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 26. This reading is not original, however, as both CP and Syncellus present their equivalent of this verb in the 3rd person singular. This is one of the characteristic readings of the Eth. I family of manuscripts, and probably represents an attempt on the part of the Ethiopic tradition to harmonise an apparent discrepancy in the narrative. According to this verse, Azazel is responsible for all of the evils perpetrated upon the earth, whilst in the following verses, Samyaza and the angels who accompanied him are also mentioned. Furthermore, Samyaza and his angels have already been listed as having taught forbidden arts to mankind (e.g. 1 Enoch 8:3). Thus the reading *and they revealed* and opposed to *and he revealed* solves this problem. This solution was not maintained, however, as the Eth. II manuscripts confirm.

CP ends the verse with ἃ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἔγνωσαν ἄνθρωποι - *which the men, having learnt, practise.*³³⁹ The Ethiopic omits this phrase altogether, which is possibly an error on its part as the phrase is attested in Syncellus albeit in a characteristically expanded form: ἐπιτηδεύουσιν δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι τὰ μυστήρια οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων - *And the sons of men practise his customs to perceive the mysteries.*³⁴⁰

³³⁹ Black suggests to insert καὶ - ἃ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν [καὶ] ἔγνωσαν ἄνθρωποι - c.f. Black (1970), 24. But this addition is not necessary as the sentence is sensible already.

³⁴⁰ Contra Black who translates according to Syncellus' longer text and suggests that "it exhibits features which could be original" - c.f. Black (1985), 131. Black gives as an example the phrase καὶ πάντα δόλον ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς - *and every craft upon the land*, but this phrase is just as likely to have been added by Syncellus. Black once more has followed a reading in Syncellus, which is not a strict translation of the *Book of Watchers*, at the expense of both CP and the Ethiopic. This is very problematic methodologically. Another methodological problem is Black's discussion of the end of this verse which is built upon Milik's identification and reading of 4QEn^a 1 iv. Milik's work at this point is pure fiction, and this renders void Black's discussion - c.f. Milik (1976), 158, 343 & Plate IV.

1 Enoch 9:7

“And³⁴¹ Samyāzā, to whom you gave authority³⁴² to rule over those who are together³⁴³ with him, has shown incantations.”

Neither CP nor Syncellus have anything equivalent to the Ethiopic’s አመረ ፣ ስብዓታተ - *he has shown incantations*. In both the Greek versions, this verse serves simply to highlight Samyaza before the next verse which describes how Samyaza and his angels fornicated with the human women. Thus the verb of which Samyaza is the subject appears in verse eight. It appears that the Ethiopic tradition has added አመረ ፣ ስብዓታተ for the sake of sense.

The verb in the next verse, however, demands a plural subject (ወሐሩ - *and they went*) which obviously relates to Samyaza and his angels. This is problematic as these angels are not part of the subject in verse seven, but are the indirect object of this verse’s relative clause. A small amendment to the Greek text, however, would solve this discrepancy:

(7) καὶ Σεμιαζᾶς ὃ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκας ἄρχειν τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων

³⁴¹ EML 1768 omits *And*.

³⁴² EML 2440 inserts **ከመ** - *that he should rule ...*. This has been added to smooth out the syntax of this clause.

³⁴³ EML 36 omits *together*. Note also that EML 2436 places it awkwardly following **ይከታት** - *to rule over*. The *together* element should not be omitted, however, as is confirmed by both CP and Syncellus (τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων).

(8) ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς καὶ συνεκοιμήθησαν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐμιάνθησαν καὶ ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

(7) And Samyaza, to whom you gave the authority to rule, together with the ones who are with him,

(8) have gone in to the daughters of them of the earth and they slept with them and they have been defiled and they declared to them all the sins.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ The above is based upon CP with two changes: (verse 7) pl. gen. art. τῶν to pl. dat. art. τοῖς; (verse 8) deletion of καὶ - *and*. The alternative to this hypothesis is that the subject of the plural verbs in verse 8 is Azazel from verse 6 and Samyaza from verse 7. This is certainly possible, but it would be the first use of such lengthy relative clauses by the Enochic author. It would also be problematic in that verse 6 is most probably part of the second revision of this narrative. Whilst the second revision may have intended to group Azazel with Samyaza and his angels, in the core stratum of the narrative, the subject of the verbs in verse 8 is simply Samyaza and his angels.

Furthermore, if one accepts that the Greek versions are corrupt, then the addition of አመረ ፣ ስብዓታተ - *he has shown incantations*, within the Ethiopic tradition, is explained as an attempt to restore sense to a badly transmitted passage. Two further points seem to suggest that the passage has suffered in transmission. Firstly, it appears that the Ethiopic translators also struggled with this passage, being unsure whether the ገብረ - *together* belongs in the last clause of verse 7, or the first clause of verse 8. This problem was resolved by placing it in both clauses (note, however, that EMM 1768 & 2436 omit it in the second clause). Secondly, the syntax of the final clause of verse 7 in both the Greek versions is rather clumsy, hinting that some corruption has occurred. Black's suggestion, that the Greek translators confused חבירין - *spell-binders* with חבירין - *companions*, may be in part responsible for this - c.f. Black (1985), 131.

1 Enoch 9:8

“And they went into the presence of the daughters of men together³⁴⁵ and they laid down with them, with³⁴⁶ those women, and they were defiled and they revealed to them³⁴⁷ these sins³⁴⁸.”

Both CP and Syncellus have the phrase *of the earth* in the first clause:

καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς ...

And they went into the daughters of the men of the earth ...

It is likely that this phrase is original as the Ethiopic version exhibits other signs of corruption. One example of such a corruption is the insertion of ገብረ - *together* which, as discussed above³⁴⁹, belongs in the previous verse.

This is further confirmed by CP and Syncellus which both omit it.

³⁴⁵ EMMML 1768 & 2436 omit *together*.

³⁴⁶ EMMML 2440 omits *with*.

³⁴⁷ EMMML 1768 reads ለ-ቱ - *to him*, rather than the expected ለ-ኝ - *to them* (f. pl.), which is an obvious error. Dillmann highlights the form ለ-ኝ ቱ as an alternative to ለ-ኝ - c.f. Dillmann (1907), 406. Thus the scribe probably meant to write ለ-ኝ ቱ for ለ-ኝ, and erroneously wrote ለ-ቱ instead.

³⁴⁸ EMMML 1768, 2080 & 2436 read *every sin*.

³⁴⁹ C.f. footnote 344.

Another possible example of the corrupt nature of the Ethiopic text at this point is the position of the phrase *with the women*, which reads much better when placed in the third clause as in Syncellus:³⁵⁰

καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμίανθησαν ...

and they have been defiled with the women ...

At the end of this verse, Syncellus adds another clause:

καὶ ἐδίδαξαν αὐτὰς μίσσητρα ποιεῖν.

and they taught them to make charms (for producing hatred).

This addition is probably another example of Syncellus' embellishing of the narrative and should not be considered original.

³⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the phrase is omitted in CP which simply has - *and they have been defiled*, so we cannot be certain in which clause the phrase *with the women* belongs. The Ethiopic as it stands, however, appears uncharacteristically clumsy, and reads a lot better when amended according to Syncellus.

Knibb argues for the opposite scenario, suggesting that the Ethiopic - *with them, with those women* corresponds to the Aramaic עִמָּהֵין עִם נְשִׂא. In fact, Knibb appears to go further and suggest that this is evidence of an Aramaic *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic version, and that it is the Greek which is corrupt - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 86.

The problem with this hypothesis is that not one example of such a construction is found within the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor any other example of Palestinian Aramaic from the period. For example, 4QEnGiants^c reads:

... וְעָבַרְתָּ עִמָּהֵון קָרַב - *and I made war with them ...* (C.f. Fitzmyer (1978), 76-7).

Thus Knibb's suggestion is unlikely. C.f. also Black (1985), 132, for further comments on Knibb's hypothesis.

1 Enoch 9:9

“And as for the women³⁵¹, they have borne giants, and³⁵²
through this the whole earth has been filled³⁵³ *with* blood and
iniquity.”

Whilst agreeing with the Ethiopic in every aspect, CP has one curiosity in that it has $\tau\iota\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ - *titans* whereas, in the previous references to the giants in 1 Enoch 7:2 and 4, CP has $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ - *giants*. Furthermore, Syncellus is consistent in having $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. Thus it is likely that CP's reading $\tau\iota\tau\hat{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ is erroneous, even though it makes little difference to the text.

Syncellus once again makes a number of additions to the narrative:

And now behold! The daughters of men have brought
forth giant sons, adulteration is poured out upon the earth of
the men, and the whole earth has been filled *with* iniquity.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ EMML 1768, 1950 & 2080 use a different suffix - i.e. $\omega\lambda\gamma\eta\hat{\iota}\tau\hat{\iota}$ rather than $\omega\lambda\gamma\eta\hat{\iota}\tau\hat{\iota}\iota$. Although very similar in meaning, the reading $\omega\lambda\gamma\eta\hat{\iota}\tau\hat{\iota}$ can also mean *And the women on the other hand* ...

³⁵² EMML 1768 & 2436 omit *and*.

³⁵³ EMML 1768 has the adverb ከላ rather than the adjective ከላላ - i.e. *and the earth is completely filled* ...

³⁵⁴ Once again, Black regards the embellished Syncellus quote as original, stating that CP and the Ethiopic “have a shortened form which is simply an abbreviated paraphrase of the longer form of Sync. which has all the marks of originality” - c.f. Black (1985), 132. This is extremely problematic methodologically, as it prefers a minority reading from a text which is by no means intended to be a faithful translation of the *Book of Watchers*, but is simply the use of this source in the larger context of a world chronology.

1 Enoch 9:10

“Now behold!³⁵⁵ The souls which have died cry out and complain up to the gate of heaven. And their wailing has gone up, and they are not able to go out by reason of³⁵⁶ the face of the iniquity which is being done upon the earth.”

As it stands in the majority of Ethiopic manuscripts, the angels are complaining that the souls of the dead are unable to go out on account of the wickedness perpetrated upon the earth. EMMML 1768, however, has *ወኢይክል* - *and it is not possible* rather than *ወኢይክሉ* - *and they are not able*.

This corresponds to the following reading which is common to both CP and Syncellus³⁵⁷:

καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
γινομένων ἀνομημάτων.³⁵⁸

*and it is not possible to go out from the presence of the lawlessness taking
place upon the earth.*

³⁵⁵ EMMML 36, 1950, 2080, 2436 & 2440 read *And now behold!* This *And ...* is also attested in both CP and Syncellus, so it is probably the better reading.

³⁵⁶ For the rendering of *እጽፋድ* as *by reason of*, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 400.

³⁵⁷ Knibb cites another four manuscripts which read *and it is not possible* - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 28. It is likely that confusion over this point caused several manuscripts to read *soul* rather than *souls* at the start of this verse. EMMML 1768 does this, as do five manuscripts highlighted by Knibb.

³⁵⁸ Note that Syncellus has *ἀδικημάτων* - *injustice* rather than *ἀνομημάτων* - *lawlessness*.

Thus in the Greek versions this clause is abstract, without the souls of the dead being the subject.³⁵⁹

Syncellus differs against CP and the Ethiopic in two instances in this verse. Firstly, Syncellus expands the first clause:

καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐντυγχάνουσιν ...

And now behold! The spirits of the souls of the slain men petition ...

Secondly, Syncellus omits the verb *to cry out* and has to adjust the following clause to compensate:

CP: *The souls of the dead cry out and petition even to the gates of heaven
and their groaning has ascended ...*

Syn: *The spirits of the souls of the slain men petition and even to the gates
of heaven their groaning has ascended ...*

It is clear from both these instances, however, that the Ethiopic version is based upon the Greek as preserved in CP, and that Syncellus has probably embellished and altered the narrative at this point.

³⁵⁹ Black suggests that the Greek αἱ ψυχὰι τῶν τετελευτηκότων was based upon a misreading of נַפְשֵׁת מִיּוֹתָיָא - *the souls of mortals* as נַפְשֵׁת מִיּוֹתָיָא - *the souls of the dead* - c.f. Black (1985), 132. This suggestion is unnecessary, however, as the verse makes perfect sense as it stands in CP.

1 Enoch 9:11

“And you know everything before³⁶⁰ it happens, and you know this and that which pertains to each of them³⁶¹, and *yet* there is nothing which you say to us. And what is fitting for us to do with them concerning this?”

And you know everything before it happens ...

The Ethiopic and CP agree against Syncellus which has *them* instead of *all/everything*:

Eth.	ከህሉ
CP	πάντα
Syn.	αὐτὰ

and you know this ...

The Ethiopic disagrees with both CP and Syncellus which have the verb *you see* as opposed to *you know*:

Eth.	ተአምር
CP/Syn.	ὁρᾶς

³⁶⁰ For the use of **ከህሉ** + subjunctive = *before*, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 545.

³⁶¹ Lit. *and that which is of each of them*.

The reading preserved in the Greek versions appears to make more sense. It is possible that the Ethiopic mistakenly added the second ተአምር in place of ተፈላ. In the same clause, Syncellus uses a personal pronoun whilst both CP and the Ethiopic use demonstrative adjectives:

Eth.	ዘፃተ
CP	ταὐτα
Syn.	αὐτοὺς

and that which pertains to each of them ...

Both CP and Syncellus read καὶ ἐὰς αὐτοὺς - *and you permit them*, which is much better than the Ethiopic ወዘዚአሆሙ - *and that which is of each of them*. Charles' suggestion that the Ethiopic translator confused καὶ ἐὰς αὐτοὺς for καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς appears the best explanation for the Ethiopic's curious reading.³⁶²

and yet there is nothing which you say to us. And what is fitting for us to do with them concerning this?

Whereas the Ethiopic version splits this section into two clauses, both the Greek versions have only the one clause:

CP	καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμῖν λέγεις τί δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ
----	--

³⁶² Charles (1893), 336. C.f. also Knibb (1978), II, 86-7. This is contra Black, however, who argues that the Ethiopic ወዘዚአሆሙ translates the Greek καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, which just happens to have been omitted from both CP and Syncellus. This cyclic argument, which presupposes a Greek reading which neither Greek source preserves, and then argues that the

τούτων.

but you do not say to us what is necessary to do to them concerning these things.

Syn. καὶ οὐδὲν λέγεις τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς περὶ τούτου.

and you do not say what is necessary to do to them concerning this.

Thus there is no questioning element in the Greek versions, but simply the complaint that no instructions have been given.³⁶³ It is likely that the Greek readings represent the original better, whilst the Ethiopic version is probably an inner-Ethiopic expansion of the original text.

Greek reading has disappeared, is extremely problematic methodologically especially when Charles' solution is so plausible - c.f. Black (1985), 132.

³⁶³ It is curious that whilst Black translates according to this understanding of the text, he edits the Greek text of Syncellus according to the Ethiopic, dividing this clause into two, and adding a question mark (?) at the end - c.f. Black (1985), 30 with Black (1970), 24.

1 Enoch 10:1

And³⁶⁴ at that time the Most High,³⁶⁵ the Great One³⁶⁶ and Holy One, spoke and sent 'Arsyalālyur to the son of Lāmēch and he said to him³⁶⁷,

CP appears to be corrupt in this verse:

Τότε Ὑψιστος εἶπεν περὶ τούτων ὁ μέγας Ἅγιος καὶ ἐλάλησεν καὶ εἶπεν καὶ ἔπεμψεν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Λέμεχ.

- the περὶ τούτων is not attested in the other witnesses
- the καὶ appears to be misplaced
- the καὶ εἶπεν appears too repetitive in view of the initial εἶπεν
- CP omits the final verb *to say* which is attested in both Syncellus

and the Ethiopic:

λέγων - *saying*

ወይቤሉ - *and he said to him*

CP's use of the verbs εἶπεν ... ἐλάλησεν, however, agrees with Syncellus, suggesting that Syncellus has best preserved the structure and sense of the original:

³⁶⁴ EMMML 2080 & 2436 omit *and*.

³⁶⁵ EMMML 36, 2080 & 2440 insert *and*.

³⁶⁶ EMMML 2436 omits *the Great One*.

Τότε ὁ ὕψιστος εἶπε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας ἐλάλησε καὶ
ἵπεμψε τὸν Οὐριήλ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Λάμεχ λέγων·

*Then the Most High spoke, and the Holy Great One uttered, and he sent
Ouriel to the son of Lamech saying,*

Thus it appears that the Ethiopic has an abbreviated form of the original.

The name of the angel commissioned in this verse differs considerably
between the versions:

Eth.	አርሰየላዩር	ʾArsyalālyur
CP	Ἰσραήλ	Istrael
Syn.	Οὐριήλ	Ouriel

Knibb suggests that the Ethiopic derives from a corruption of the Greek as found in CP.³⁶⁸ It seems more likely, however, that it is derived from Syncellus. The Ethiopic for *Ouriel* is either አርያል or አራኤል (plus variants). It is clear that the first form underlies the problematic version found in this verse:

አርሰየላዩር
አርያል

³⁶⁷ EMMML 2440 omits *and he said to him*.

³⁶⁸ Knibb (1978), II, 87. The present author fails to see how this is possible given the absence of either ት or ጥ (or any dental) in the Ethiopic አርሰየላዩር which could represent the τ in Ἰσραήλ. The affinity between አርያል and አርሰየላዩር is much more convincing.

Thus it appears that the original reading of the name of the angel commissioned in this verse is preserved in Syncellus.³⁶⁹ CP's Ἰστραήλ is corrupt, which is in line with our assessment of the rest of CP's version of this verse.

³⁶⁹ In Black's translation of this verse, the name of the angel commissioned by the Most High is given as *Sariel* - c.f. Black (1985), 30. *Sariel* is not attested in any of the versions of 1 Enoch 10:1 and, hence, Black's use of this name is extremely problematic. Given Black's propensity for relying too heavily on Syncellus, it is ironic that in the case where Syncellus appears to have preserved the original reading, Black has opted for a reading which not attested in any source.

1 Enoch 10:2

“Say to him in my name ‘Hide yourself’, and reveal to him³⁷⁰

the end which will come because the whole³⁷¹ earth will perish

and a deluge is about to come³⁷² upon the whole earth and³⁷³

that which is in it will perish.”

In contrast to the previous verse, CP agrees with the Ethiopic save for the last clause:

Eth. ወይትታጉል ፣ ከህሉ ፣ ውስቴታ ።

and that which is in it will perish.

CP καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν [ἐν] αὐτῇ.

and it (i.e. the flood) will destroy all that is in it.

The use of an active transitive verb in the final clause is confirmed by Syncellus, even though it is once again embellished:

Syn. ἀπολέσαι πάντα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

it shall destroy all things from the face of the earth.

³⁷⁰ EMMML 2080 reads *to them*.

³⁷¹ EMMML 2440 omits *whole*.

³⁷² For this rendering of the imperfect + perfect of verb *to be* - ይመጽእ ፣ ህሉ, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 170. This is a good Ethiopic construction and should not be considered as reflecting an original Aramaic לְהוֹי אֵתָא, as suggested first by Ullendorff and then by Knibb - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 87.

³⁷³ EMMML 2080 inserts *all*.

Syncellus adds another two phrases which are both obvious embellishments. The first is Πορεύου πρὸς τὸν Νῶε καὶ - *Go to Noah and* which was probably inspired by the mention of the *son of Lamech* in the previous verse. Crucially, Noah does not figure in the *Book of Watchers*, save for the purposefully vague and symbolic reference to him in 1 Enoch 10:1, so we can be sure that Syncellus' mention of him is not original. Secondly, Syncellus adds εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι - *say to him that* which is superfluous and disagrees with both CP and the Ethiopic. Thus it is likely that CP preserves the most original reading of this verse.

1 Enoch 10:3

“And now, teach him in order that he may escape and his progeny shall abide for all the earth.”

CP agrees with the Ethiopic except for the final phrase which reads εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος - *into all the generations of the world*. Syncellus, despite his usual embellishments, confirms the phraseology of CP having καὶ σταθήσεται πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος - *and he shall be established for all the generations of the world*. Furthermore, EMMML 1768 and 2080 end this verse with ለኩሉዎን ፣ ትውልድ - *for all generations*, which suggests that the final phrase of this verse has been corrupted within the Ethiopic tradition and that CP preserves the most original text.

Syncellus' embellishments are quite lengthy in this verse:³⁷⁴

“Teach the righteous one, the son of Lamech, what he shall do, and his soul shall be preserved unto life and he shall escape through eternity, and out of him shall be planted a plant and he shall be established *for* all the generations of the world.”

The motif of planting is based upon the narrative of Genesis 9:20-21, in which Noah plants a vineyard and drinks of the wine it produced. It is likely,

³⁷⁴ Contra Black, however, who argues that Syncellus' text is close to the original and agrees with Milik that the Ethiopic version is a “drastic abridgement” - c.f. Black (1985), 133.

however, that Syncellus' embellishment is more immediately derived from the use of this plant motif later in the *Book of Watchers* - c.f. 1 Enoch 10:16 & 18-19.

1 Enoch 10:4

And furthermore the Lord said to Raphael, “Bind ʿAzāʾel by his hands and by³⁷⁵ his feet, and throw him into darkness, and split open the wilderness which is in Dudāʾel and throw him in that place.”

CP agrees with the Ethiopic in all but two points. Firstly, CP omits *furthermore the Lord* (ከዕበ ፡ እግዚእ) and starts this verse simply with καὶ τῷ ʿΡαφαήλ εἶπεν - *And to Raphael he said*. This is also supported by Syncellus - καὶ τῷ ʿΡαφαήλ εἶπε. Thus it appears that the Ethiopic has added these elements to the verse.³⁷⁶

Secondly, CP inverts the Ethiopic order በእጃዎ ፡ በἰνፍፍዎ - *by his hands and by his feet* and has ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν - *by (his) feet and hands*. In

³⁷⁵ EMM 36 omits *by*.

³⁷⁶ An interesting picture emerges if one examines the start of all four angelic commissions. The first has a lengthy introduction with all three versions agreeing in the description of God as *the Most High, the Great and Holy One* - 1 Enoch 10:1. The second appears originally to have had no description of God, simply reading *And to Raphael he said* - 1 Enoch 10:4. The third begins with *And the Lord said to Gabriel* - 1 Enoch 10:9. The fourth has a similar disagreement as found in the second, with both the Greek sources implying that the original reading was *And he said to Michael*, but the Ethiopic having the longer *And the Lord said to Michael* - 1 Enoch 10:11. Thus it appears that, in the case of the second and fourth angelic commissions, the Ethiopic has lengthened the introduction by inserting *the Lord* in order to reflect the construction of the third. This conclusion is contra Black who suggests that 1 Enoch 10:9 implies that the Ethiopic is original - c.f. Black (1985), 133.

These observations are important as they coincide with the strata identified in Part One and summarised in §1.3.6. According to this hypothesis, the core stratum only had the two principal archangels - Gabriel and Michael. The first was introduced using the full clause “And the Lord said to Gabriel”, whilst the second was introduced with the more concise “And he said to Michael”.

this case, however, Syncellus supports the Ethiopic having χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ
- *by (his) hands and feet*. Thus it appears that CP has erred.

Syncellus again embellishes this verse considerably:

And to Raphael he said, “Go, Raphael, and bind Azael,
chain him by *his* hands and feet, and cast him into the darkness,
and open the wilderness which is in the wilderness Doudael,
and having been carried there throw him *in*.

1 Enoch 10:5

“And throw upon him crooked and sharp stones and cover him *with*³⁷⁷ darkness and let him dwell there forever, and cover his face so that³⁷⁸ he shall not see the light.”

Both the Greek versions are in broad agreement with the Ethiopic in this verse. The way in which the Ethiopic translators rendered the last clause gives a certain insight into their method. Both CP and Syncellus agree on this clause having:

... καὶ φῶς μὴ θεωρεῖτω.

... *and let him not behold light.*

The Ethiopic translators, however, noting that this clause is very much a consequence of the preceding command to *cover his face*, chose to render this clause ከመ ፣ ኢይርአይ ፣ ብርሃነ, with the preposition ከመ - *so that*, rather than ወኢይርአይ ፣ ብርሃነ, with the conjunction ወ. As both the Greek versions are in agreement, it is preferable to assume that they preserve the more original form and, hence, conclude that the Ethiopic translators did not feel bound to translate the narrative in a literal word by word fashion. It

³⁷⁷ EMML 2080 inserts *within*.

³⁷⁸ EMML 36 omits *so that*.

appears that they felt at liberty to adjust the text, albeit ever so slightly, for the sake of sense.

This conclusion is important as we come to analyse the first clause of this verse, in which there is a slight discrepancy between the versions:

Eth. ፀፂፂ ፡ ገፅፌሁ - *And throw upon him...*

CP/Syn. καὶ ὑπόθεσ αὐτῷ - *And place under him ...*

There is no doubt that the Ethiopic version makes more sense if we understand the second clause as referring to the consequences of the first - *throw upon him ... and cover him*. It is this understanding which prompted Lods to emend ὑπόθεσ to ἐπίθεσ - *place upon him* in accordance with the Ethiopic version.³⁷⁹

In view of our previous conclusions regarding the approach of the Ethiopic translators and the fact that both Greek versions agree, it is probable that the Ethiopic translators deviated from the Greek for the sake of sense. Furthermore, one cannot rule out the ironic possibility that Lods' proposed emendation of the Greek text in fact changes the more original form as attested in the Greek version in favour of the deviation from it which is attested in the Ethiopic.

³⁷⁹ Lods (1892), xxxvi. Charles also considered this emendation to be correct - c.f. Charles (1893), 337. Although Black adopts Lods' emendation in his translation, he does acknowledge in his commentary that the Greek text also makes sense as it stands - c.f. Black (1985), 30 & 134.

The present author considers the Greek versions to be more original and that the punishment to be inflicted upon Azael was that he should be placed upon jagged rocks and covered with darkness. This understanding renders unnecessary Lods' emendation.

1 Enoch 10:6

“And³⁸⁰ in the great day of judgement, he will be sent into the burning heat.”

The Ethiopic text is awkward in its use of ከመ in this verse. As it stands, it seems to suggest that Azael’s face is to be covered for two reasons - so that he shall not see light (verse five) and so that he shall be punished in fiery torment. Both the Greek versions agree in not having this problematic element so it is probably an inner-Ethiopic addition.

There is a discrepancy between the Ethiopic and CP in the first clause of this verse:

Eth. መበዕለት ፣ ዓባይ ፣ እንተ³⁸¹ ፣ ከኅኒኔ ...

And in the great day of judgement ...

CP καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεγάλης τῆς κρίσεως ...

And in the day of the great judgement ...

Thus we are not sure whether the adjective *great* should modify *day* or *judgement*. Syncellus omits the adjective altogether (καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως), so the evidence for this verse is inconclusive.³⁸² The text of 1

³⁸⁰ EMMML 2080 & 2436 omit *And*.

³⁸¹ For the use of እንተ to express the genitive, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 468.

³⁸² Knibb translates this phrase according to the Ethiopic, whilst Black translates it according to CP and includes a lengthy discussion which gives examples of both forms - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 88; Black (1985), 30 & 134-5.

Enoch 10:12, as attested in the Aramaic fragments, implies that the Ethiopic *great day* is the more original, but this conclusion must remain tentative.³⁸³

Syncellus' version of the last clause is slightly longer than that of CP:

CP ... ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐνπυρισμόν³⁸⁴.

... *he shall be led away into the burning.*

Syn. ... ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐμπυρισμόν τοῦ πυρός.

... *he shall be led away into the burning of the fire.*

Unfortunately, the Ethiopic is rather ambiguous:

Eth. ... ይታረኑ ፤ ውስተ ፤ ሞጋይ ።

... *he will be sent into the heat/burning heat.*

Thus we are unable to discern whether we have another embellishment in Syncellus or an omission in CP.

³⁸³ C.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 10:12.

³⁸⁴ Charles rightly corrects this to ἐμπυρισμόν - c.f. Charles (1893), 337.

1 Enoch 10:7

“And heal the earth which the angels have made desolate, and
proclaim the healing of the earth, that I will heal the earth³⁸⁵
and all the sons of men shall not perish through³⁸⁶ the mystery
of all that the Watchers killed and taught to their sons.”

The Ethiopic and Syncellus agree in the first clause, both having an imperative in contrast to the future of CP:

Eth. **ወላሕይዋ ፣ ለምድር** - *And heal the earth ...*

Syn. **καὶ ἴασαι τὴν γῆν** - *And heal the earth ...*

CP **καὶ ἰαθήσεται ἡ γῆ** - *And the earth shall be healed ...*

In favour of the imperative of Syncellus and the Ethiopic is the context which describes a series of commands given to Raphael and the obvious pun on his name (**רָפָאֵל**) and the mission *to heal* (root **רָפָא**).³⁸⁷

We should not be so ready to discount the reading attested in CP, however, as a closer examination of the remainder of the verse suggests that it could indeed be original.

³⁸⁵ EMMML 36 omits *the earth* and simply reads *that I will heal it*.

³⁸⁶ EMMML 2436 has *for* instead of *through*.

³⁸⁷ Black (1985), 135. These two points, however, do not necessarily support the imperative attested in the Ethiopic and Syncellus. The pun on Raphael's name is just as applicable to his mission to announce the healing of the earth. Furthermore, the previous imperatives are all related to the punishment of Azazel. Thus there could easily have been a distinction

The key to understanding this verse is the third clause in which both Greek witnesses agree:

... ἵνα ἰάσωνται τὴν πληγὴν ...

... *that the wound may be healed* ...

The verb ἰάομαι - *to heal* is problematic, however, as it is one of those rare deponent verbs which are in the middle voice but have a passive meaning.³⁸⁸ Assuming that the Ethiopic translators were using a Greek *Vorlage*, it is possible that they overlooked this in rendering the phrase with an active verb:

... ከመ ፣ አሐይዋ ፣ ለምድር ...

... *that I will heal the earth* ...

This use of an active verb by the Ethiopic translators caused further complications. The translators had to decide on a subject for the verb and opted for the first person singular, ascribing the healing of the earth to the Most High. This in turn caused the Ethiopic version to have a contradiction between the command to Raphael to heal the earth, on the one hand, and the Most High stating that he himself will heal the earth on the other.³⁸⁹

between Raphael's first mission, which was to punish Azael, and his second mission which was to announce the imminent healing of the earth.

³⁸⁸ C.f. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Harvard, 1956), §813.

³⁸⁹ Contra Black who argues for the superiority of the Ethiopic reading - c.f. Black (1985), 135.

Thus the third clause of this verse should be *that the wound may be healed* as attested in both the Greek sources. This makes a couplet with the first clause of this verse as attested in CP:

And the earth shall be healed ...

... that the wound may be healed ...

Therefore the reading attested in CP should not be so readily rejected. As the text stands in CP, Raphael's mission is not to heal the earth, but to proclaim the imminent healing of the earth.

The superiority of CP is suggested by some other observations concerning this verse. Firstly, there is a discrepancy between the objects of the second and third clauses:

	2 nd clause	3 rd clause
Eth.	earth	earth
CP	earth	wound
Syn.	wound	wound

This discrepancy is probably best explained by assuming that CP has preserved the more original reading. As we have seen already, the Ethiopic translators have erred considerably in their rendering of the third clause, so their use of *earth* rather than *wound* is consistently erroneous.

Secondly, CP and the Ethiopic agree in having *to their sons* (ለወሎቶራው, τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν) as opposed to Syncellus' *to the sons of men* (τοὺς υἱοὺς

τῶν ἀνθρώπων) at the end of this verse. The reading attested in CP and the Ethiopic is better as it reflects the story more accurately. The teachings of the angels were not given to the *sons of men* in general, but particularly to their wives and children in exchange for sexual favours.

Thirdly, there is a major discrepancy regarding the first verb of the final clause in this verse:

Eth. ... ዘቀተሉ ፣ ትጉሃን ፣ ወመሀሩ ፣ ለውሉደሙ ።

... *that the Watchers killed and taught to their sons.*

CP ᾧ ἐπέταξαν³⁹⁰ οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν.

... *that the Watchers enjoined and taught to their sons.*

Syn. ὁ εἶπον οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

... *that the Watchers spoke and taught to the sons of men.*

The Ethiopic is clearly corrupt as it makes no sense. Either of the Greek versions is preferable, but the Ethiopic reading is more easily explained as being a corruption of the reading attested in CP. The Greek verb ἐπέταξαν - *to enjoin* is used in reference to putting troops in order for battle. The

³⁹⁰ CP actually reads ἐπάταξαν. The suggestion to amend this to ἐπέταξαν was first made by Bouriant (1892), 105.

equivalent Ethiopic verb is ቅገላ which could easily be confused with ቀተለ - *to kill* within the Ethiopic tradition.³⁹¹

Thus it appears that more original form of this verse is attested in CP, and further that there are a variety of problematic readings in both Syncellus and the Ethiopic which should be rejected.

³⁹¹ Knibb and Black reject the readings attested in both CP and the Ethiopic. Knibb suggests that the Aramaic מכה - *to smite* was confused with מנה - *to show* - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 88; Black (1985), 135.

1 Enoch 10:8

“And all³⁹² the earth has been made desolate through the teaching of the work of ʿAzāzʾēl, and against him register³⁹³ all sin.”

Both the Greek versions agree against the Ethiopic in having *through the works of the teaching of Azael* (ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας Ἀζαήλ), as opposed to the Ethiopic’s *through the teaching of the work of ʿAzāzʾel* (በጥራት ፡ ግብሩ ፡ ለአዛዝኤል).

Syncellus differs from both the Ethiopic and CP in having all sin recorded upon *her*:

Eth. ... ወላዕሌሁ ፣ ጸሐፍ ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ኃጢአተ ።

... and against him (i.e. ʿAzāzʾēl) register all sin.

CP ... καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γράψον τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάσας.

... and upon him (i.e. Azael) record all the sins.

Syn. ... καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ γράψον πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας.

... and upon her (i.e. the earth) record all the sins.

Thus rather than to an angel, Syncellus chooses to ascribe all sin to the earth.³⁹⁴ This was probably done for theological reasons. The problem with

³⁹² EMML 2440 omits *all*.

³⁹³ On the use of the verb ጸሐፍ with the preposition ወላዕ, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 447.

the text of the *Book of Watchers* as it stands is that it contradicts the Genesis narrative by removing the blame for the sinful state of the earth away from humanity and onto the angels. This removes the Biblical rationale for the flood which was to destroy mankind. Syncellus has solved this problem by stating that the sins which resulted from Azael's teachings were imputed to the earth by the Most High. Thus the rationale for the flood is to punish or to cleanse the earth.

We note finally that CP has an extra *having perished* (ἀφανισθεῖσα) which is attested in neither Syncellus nor the Ethiopic. It is not possible to determine whether this is original or not.

³⁹⁴ Black asserts that the sins are not ascribed to the earth but to the teaching of Azael - c.f. Black (1985), 135. Whilst this is certainly possible grammatically, it makes no sense as it does not explain the reason for the deluge and it does not allow for the thing to which all sin is ascribed to be punished - how can one punish a teaching?

1 Enoch 10:9

And the Lord said to Gabriel, “Go against the bastards and the despised and against³⁹⁵ the sons of harlots³⁹⁶, and destroy the sons of harlots³⁹⁷ and the sons of the Watchers from men³⁹⁸. And drive them out and send them among themselves and they will all destroy themselves³⁹⁹ in combat for they do not have length of days.”

There are a number of discrepancies between the different versions of this verse. Before we analyse the major differences, it is profitable to discuss some of the minor ones. In the first clause, the Ethiopic and CP both agree:

Eth. ወለገብርኤል ፣ ይቤሉ ፣ እግዚአብሔር ...

CP καὶ τῷ Γαβριήλ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ...

And the Lord said to Gabriel ...

Syncellus, however, omits the divine name:

Syn. καὶ τῷ Γαβριήλ εἶπε ...

And he said to Gabriel ...

³⁹⁵ EMM 36 inserts *all*.

³⁹⁶ The use of the singular 𐤇𐤍𐤔 - *harlot* to express the plural in a construct chain is explained by Dillmann (1907), 466.

³⁹⁷ EMM 36 omits *and destroy the sons of harlots*.

³⁹⁸ The rendering of 𐤆𐤓𐤐𐤍𐤊 as *among men* was suggested by Dillmann (1907), 473, but the more conventional *from men* better reflects the Greek versions.

It is likely that the more original reading is that attested in CP and the Ethiopic.⁴⁰⁰

In the second clause, once again, the Ethiopic and CP are in agreement:

Eth. ሐ-ር ፣ ዲቤሆሙ ፣ ለመንዚራን ...

CP Πορεύου ἐπὶ τοὺς μαζηρεύους ...

"Go against the bastards ...

Syncellus deviates considerably, however, adding the vocative *Gabriel* to the command and changing the description of the object:

Syn. Πορεύου Γαβριήλ ἐπὶ τοὺς γίγαντας ...

"Go against the giants, Gabriel, ...

This is yet another example of Syncellus altering the narrative.

In the third clause, both the Greek sources agree against the Ethiopic in omitting the *and*, repeating the preposition *against* and in the description of the children of the Watchers:

CP/Syn. ἐπὶ τοὺς κιβδήλους - *against the base ones*

Eth. ወለምኑናን - *and the despised*

³⁹⁹ Lit. *they and each of them will destroy themselves*. EMM 2436, however, simply has *and they, each of them* ...

⁴⁰⁰ C.f. the previous discussion of the introduction to the angelic commissions in footnote 376.

Thus in the first three clauses, the best text is CP. It is in the light of this observation that we should analyse the remainder of the verse.

Regarding the command to destroy, both the Greek sources are in broad agreement:

CP καὶ ἀπόλεσον τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ...

and destroy the sons of the Watchers from the men ...

Syn. καὶ ἀπόλεσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ...

and destroy the sons of the Watchers from the sons of the men ...

The only difference is the addition in Syncellus of the second genitive. The Ethiopic, however, inserts a phrase due to contamination from the previous clause:

Eth. ወኣሕገሉሙ ፣ ለውሉደ ፣ ዘማ ፣ ወለውሉደ ፣ ትጉሃን ፣
 እምሰብእ ...

*And destroy the sons of the harlots and the sons of the Watchers from
men ...*

Thus CP contains the best reading.

It is in the final part of this verse that the major discrepancy is found. CP, which up to this point has proved the more reliable witness, simply reads:

CP πέμψον αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπωλείας. μακρότης γὰρ
 ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν.
Send them into a battle of destruction - for length of days is not theirs.

Both the Ethiopic and Syncellus, however, have much longer and more awkward sentences:

Eth. ወአውፅአሙ ፣ ወረገዎሙ ፣ በበይናቲሆሙ ፣ እሙንቱ
 ፣ ወለሊሆሙ ፣ በቀጥል ፣ ይትጋጉሉ ፣ እስመ ፣ ኑጋ
 ፣ መዋዕል ፣ አልቦሙ ።
*And drive them out and send them among themselves - they and each
 of them in combat will destroy themselves - for they do not have
 length of days.*

Syn. πέμψον αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐν
 πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ. καὶ μακρότης ἡμερῶν οὐκ
 ἔσται αὐτοῖς.
*Send them against one another, out of them against them, into battle
 and into destruction. And length of days shall not be for them.*

In the light of our previous conclusions that this verse has been, thus far, best preserved in CP, it seems reasonable to assume that the shorter, more sensible, text of this last sentence is also best preserved in CP.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ Black asserts that CP has lost εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς, but it is equally likely that this is an insertion by Syncellus designed to clarify the situation regarding the giants. The same probably applies to the Ethiopic እሙንቱ ፣ ወለሊሆሙ. C.f. Black (1985), 136.

The Aramaic evidence for this verse is rather limited and ambiguous.⁴⁰²

4QEn^b 1 iv]בקר אבדן[]עיריא[

The]בקר אבדן[could be understood as either *in battle of destruction*, which would correspond to CP's ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπωλείας, or as *in battle they perish*, which would correspond more to the Ethiopic's በቀጥል ፣ ይትጋቡሉ. The absence of ב before]בקר אבדן[, however, rules out Syncellus' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ.

⁴⁰² C.f. Milik (1976), 175, 346 & plate VIII.

1 Enoch 10:10

“And all of them shall beseech you but there will not be *anything* for their fathers on their behalf. For they hope⁴⁰³ for life which is forever, and that each one of them shall live life⁴⁰⁴ five hundred years.”⁴⁰⁵

In the first sentence of this verse, the Greek sources differ considerably:

CP καὶ πᾶσα ἐρώτησις [οὐκ] ἔσται τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν
καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν.

And there will [not] be any request by their fathers and regarding them.

Syn. καὶ πᾶσα ἐρώτησις οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν.

And there is not any request by their fathers.

⁴⁰³ EMMML 2436 inserts *to live*.

⁴⁰⁴ EMMML 36, 1768, 2080, 2436 & 2440 omit *life*. This omission corresponds to both the Greek versions and is the majority reading in the Ethiopic manuscripts, so it is probably the better reading.

⁴⁰⁵ Black, perceiving an apparent contradiction between hoping to live forever and hoping to live for five hundred years, translates this section rather unconventionally, dispensing with the usual verse divisions: v.10 *Length of days shall not be theirs: they shall all request (it) of you, but no petition shall be granted to their fathers on their behalf, that they should not expect to live an eternal life, but that each one of them should live five hundred years* - c.f. Black (1985), 30 & 136. The apparent contradiction upon which this hypothesis is built is actually explained by Black, however, in his earlier commentary on 1 Enoch 10:5 where Azazel is to be covered in darkness *forever* before being led into the fire - c.f. Black (1985), 134. As Charles also observed, the phrase *forever* can denote either an unending period, or a determined lengthy period of time. Thus in 1 Enoch 10:12, the determined length of time is seventy generations, whilst in 1 Enoch 10:10, it is five hundred years - c.f. Charles (1893), 72. As Black demonstrates that he is fully aware of this, his suggested re-interpretation of these verses is inexplicable.

Firstly, Syncellus omits καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν. The καὶ attested in CP is problematic and is probably erroneous. The περὶ αὐτῶν, however, is supported by the Ethiopic's በእንቲአሆሙ - *on their behalf*, so its omission in Syncellus is probably erroneous.

Secondly, Syncellus has the present ἔσται, whilst CP has the future ἔσται. As the future appears to make more sense, and the Ethiopic uses the imperfect ይከውን, given our observations thus far concerning the reliability of CP in comparison with Syncellus, we can tentatively conclude that CP best represents the original.

Thus before we turn to analyse the Ethiopic version of the first sentence, we can restore the Greek as follows:

καὶ πᾶσα ἐρώτησις οὐκ ἔσται τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν περὶ αὐτῶν.

And there will not be any request by their fathers regarding them.

This is rendered in the Ethiopic as

ወኩሉሙ ፣ ይስእሉከ ፣ ወኢይከውን ፣ ለእባዊሆሙ ፣
በእንቲአሆሙ

And all of them shall beseech you but there will not be anything for their fathers on their behalf.

Thus we see that the Ethiopic is quite a free rendering which gives a non-literal representation of all the elements present in the Greek. The major

change is the expansion, for the sake of sense, of *every request* into *all of them shall beseech you*.

Both the Greek sources agree in the second part of this verse:

CP/Syn. ὅτι ἐλπίζουσιν ζῆσαι ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ ὅτι
ζήσεται ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔτη πεντακόσια.
*For they hope to live life eternal, and that each of them shall
live five hundred years.*

The Ethiopic has deviated only slightly from this. In the first clause of this sentence, the majority of Ethiopic manuscripts omits the verb *to live*:

Eth. እስመ ፣ ይሴረዉ ፣ ሕይወተ ፣ ዘለዓለም ...
For they hope for life which is forever ...

The verb *to live* is attested, however, in EMML 2436 and other manuscripts:⁴⁰⁶

EMML 2436 እስመ ፣ ይሴረዉ ፣ ይሕየው ፣ ሕይወተ ፣
ዘለዓለም
For they hope to live life which is forever ...

Thus the minority reading corresponds to the Greek versions and is probably the more original.

⁴⁰⁶ Knibb lists five other manuscripts in which the verb *to live* is also attested - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 34.

1 Enoch 10:11

And the Lord said to Michael, “Go! Declare to Semyāzā⁴⁰⁷ and to the others who are with him, who joined with the women to be corrupted with them in all their impurity,”

In this verse, we are able to glean the following two words from the Aramaic fragment 4QEn^b 1 iv:⁴⁰⁸

[דִּי אֶתְחַבְּרוּ]

... *who associated/joined* ...

As it stands, CP has *Michael* in the vocative:

CP καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ πορεύου ...

And he said “Michael, go ...

This should probably be amended to καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Μιχαήλ πορεύου⁴⁰⁹, so that *Michael* is in the dative as in Syncellus:

Syn. καὶ τῷ Μιχαήλ εἶπε Πορεύου ...

And to Michael he said “Go ...

⁴⁰⁷ It is worth noting that in EMM 2080, the oldest of our manuscripts, the name of this angel most resembles the original Aramaic form. In this verse, it is given as ܐܡܠܟܐ, whilst in 1 Enoch 6:7, it is ܐܡܠܟܐ.

⁴⁰⁸ C.f. Milik (1976), 175, 346 & plate VIII.

⁴⁰⁹ C.f. 1 Enoch 10:4.

On the basis of our earlier observations concerning the introductions to the angelic commissions (c.f. footnote 232), Syncellus appears to have the best reading for the start of the verse. For the remainder of the verse, however, Syncellus' text is problematic. For the next clause, Syncellus reads:

Syn. Πορεύου Μιχαήλ δῆσον Σεμιαζάν ...

"Go, Michael, bind Semiazas ...

This contrasts with both CP and the Ethiopic which have:

Eth. ሐ-ር ፣ አይድፅ ፣ ለስምያዛ ...

"Go! Declare to Semyāzā ...

CP πορεύου καὶ δῆλωσον Σεμιαζᾱ ...

"Go and declare to Semiazas ...

The reason for the confusion between δῆλωσον and δῆσον is easy enough to understand, but the question as to which is more original is still unanswered. The Ethiopic አይድፅ implies that the correct reading is found in CP. Furthermore, the command to bind the Watchers is given in the next verse, so the context seems to prefer *declare* rather than another *bind* at this point.⁴¹⁰

It still remains to explain Syncellus' deviation. The explanation is probably found by comparing Syncellus' text of 1 Enoch 10:4 with his text of this verse:

1 En 10:4 καὶ τῷ Ῥαφαήλ εἶπε Πορεύου Ῥαφαήλ καὶ
 δῆσον

1 En 10:11 καὶ τῷ Μιχαήλ εἶπε Πορεύου Μιχαήλ δῆσον

Thus it appears that Syncellus' deviation in verse eleven is based upon his earlier embellishment of verse four.

Syncellus further embellishes this verse, having θυγατράσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων - *daughters of the men* rather than simply *women* (CP γυναιξίν, Eth. አንስትራ).⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ This concurs with Black (1985), 137 and Charles (1893), 74-5.

⁴¹¹ Contra Black (1985), 137.

1 Enoch 10:12

“When⁴¹² all⁴¹³ their sons are pierced, and when they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for⁴¹⁴ seventy generations under the mountains of the earth, until the day of their judgement and their execution, until the judgement which for all eternity is accomplished.”

The Qumran fragment 4QEn^b 1 iv provides the following evidence:⁴¹⁵

[יבדון בניהון וי] [שבעין]

[ארעא עד יומא רב]א

... their sons perish ... seventy ... the earth until the great day ...

The adjective *great* is omitted in all the later versions.⁴¹⁶ Even before the discovery of the Qumran fragments, however, the comparison was made between verses five and twelve of this chapter and Jude verse 6:

⁴¹² EMMML 1768, 2080 & 2436 read *And when*

⁴¹³ EMMML 2436 omits *all*. Although this corresponds to both CP and Syncellus, this is probably the result of an inner-Ethiopic corruption which just happens to revert to the more original reading and not evidence for the superiority of this manuscript.

⁴¹⁴ EMMML 1768 omits *for*.

⁴¹⁵ C.f. Milik (1976), 175, 346 & plate VIII.

⁴¹⁶ The use of the phrase *great day* [of judgement] in this verse suggests that it is probably the Ethiopic version which best represents the original in 1 Enoch 10:6. See the notes to this verse above.

And the angels who kept not their own first state but left their own dwelling, he keeps unto the judgement of the great day in eternal bonds under darkness.

Thus in Jude 6, it is all the angels and not just Azazel who are covered with darkness. Furthermore, the phrase *great day* appears confirmed.⁴¹⁷

There appears to be three inner-Ethiopic additions in this verse. Firstly, both the Greek versions omit *all* in the first clause:

Eth. ሶበ ፣ ደትራገዙ ፣ ከኅሉ ፣ ውሉደሙ ...

When all their sons are pierced ...

CP/Syn. καὶ ὅταν κατασφαγῶσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ...

And when their sons are slaughtered ...

The absence of *all* in the Greek versions is confirmed by the Aramaic בְּנֵיהֶוֶן
יִבְרִין - *their sons perish* (see above). Note also that the verb in this clause has changed significantly through the versions. The Aramaic אֲבַר - *to perish* is usually rendered in Greek with ἀπόλλυμι - *to destroy* (midd. *perish*) rather than the κατασφάζω - *to kill/slay* of 1 Enoch 10:12. Barr suggests that κατασφαγῶσιν represents a rather free yet more specific rendering of

⁴¹⁷ This comparison was made by Charles well over a century ago - c.f. Charles (1893), 75. It is puzzling, in the light of this, that Milik wrote "I find a reference to this verse ... [in Jude 6]" and makes no reference to the earlier work of Charles etc. - c.f. Milik (1976), 177.

ገገጽ.⁴¹⁸ It appears, however, that ገገጽ was understood by the Greek translators as a pa^{ce}l form of the root ገገጽ.

Secondly, neither CP nor Syncellus have the second *when*:

Eth. ወሶበ ፣ ይሬእዩ ፣ ገገጽሎሙ ፣ ለፍቁራኒሆሙ

and when they see the destruction of their beloved ones,

CP καὶ ἴδωσιν τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν

and they see the destruction of (their) beloved ones,

Syn. καὶ ἴδωσι τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν αὐτῶν

and they see the destruction of their beloved ones,

Again, the absence of this second *when* appears to be confirmed by Qumran fragment 4QEn^b 1 iv.⁴¹⁹

Thirdly, the Ethiopic and Syncellus both read *for seventy generations* (ለ፭፻፲፱ ዓመታት or ለሰባት ፣ ዓመታት; ἐπὶ ἑβδομήκοντα γενεάς), whereas CP simply reads *seventy generations* (ἑβδομήκοντα γενεάς). Whilst the evidence is inconclusive, we note that EMM 1768 concurs with CP: ፭፻ ፣ ዓመታት - *seventy generations*.

⁴¹⁸ Barr (1978), 198.

⁴¹⁹ The ገገጽ which follows בְּנִיחֵן ገገጽ implies that the verb *to see* follows without an intervening *when*.

1 Enoch 10:13

“And in those days, they will take them into the abyss of fire in torment, and in prison⁴²⁰ they will be confined⁴²¹ for all eternity⁴²².”

In this verse, it appears that the Ethiopic version is very much a free rendering of the Greek sources. For example, the initial τότε - *then* of both CP and Syncellus has been expanded into ወበውእቲ ፣ መዋዕል - *and in those days*,⁴²³ whilst the καὶ εἰς τὴν βάσανον - *and unto the torture* has been shortened to simply በግόር - *in torment*.

The Ethiopic has made two changes regarding the use of verbs. Firstly, the passive verb attested in the Greek sources (CP: ἀπαχθήσονται - *they will be led away*; Syncellus ἀπενεχθήσονται - *they will be carried off*) has been changed to the active ይወስዷቸው - *they will take them*.

Secondly, the Ethiopic adds a verb to the final clause which has no verb in either of the Greek sources:

CP καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνκλείσεως αἰῶνος.

⁴²⁰ EML 1768 inserts *and*.

⁴²¹ EML 36 & 1768 read *he will be confined* instead of *they will be confined*.

⁴²² EML 1768, 1950, 2080 & 2436 read *forever* instead of *for all eternity*. Note also that EML 36 reads *which is for all eternity*. This is almost certainly erroneous as the phrase appears to have been mistakenly incorporated from the end of the previous verse. The longer *for all eternity* in EML 2440 & 6686 is also probably derived from the previous verse, and the shorter *forever* attested in the majority of the manuscripts is most probably the more original reading.

⁴²³ C.f. the commentaries to 1 Enoch 10:18 & 11:1.

Syn. καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῆς συγκλείσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

... *and into the prison of eternal incarceration.*

Eth. ወበቤተ ፡ ሞቅሕ ፡ ይትዓፀዉ ፡ ለዓለሙ ፡ ዓለም ።

... *and in prison they will be confined for all eternity.*

The absence of any such verb in the Greek *Vorlage* possibly accounts for the variants amongst the manuscripts in the verb inserted in the Ethiopic tradition.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Black suggests that the Ethiopic verb is original and that both the Greek sources have shortened the text - c.f. Black (1985), 138. Whilst this is possible, the agreement in structure between CP and Syncellus presents reasonable evidence for an original reading, especially in view of the fact that the later Ethiopic tradition is nowhere else confirmed.

1 Enoch 10:14

“And at that time he will burn and perish.⁴²⁵ From this time forward, together with them, they will be bound until the completion of all generations.”

As it has been preserved in the Ethiopic tradition, this verse states that a guilty one is to be bound with the Watchers until the final judgement when that one will be consumed in fiery torment. Thus this verse is a warning to the reader that he should avoid the punishment which, according to the previous verse, is to be inflicted upon the Watchers.

Whilst the meaning of the verse can be discerned, the Ethiopic appears rather clumsy in the first sentence. Both the Greek versions differ from the Ethiopic, and have a reading which is more preferable:

CP καὶ ὅταν - *And when ...*

Syn. καὶ ὅς ᾧν ... - *And whoever ...*

Eth. 𐩢𐩨𐩣𐩬 - *And at that time ...*

According to Qumran fragment 4QEn^c 1 v, this verse appears to have started with ... וְכֹל דִּי - *and all who ...*.⁴²⁶ Syncellus' καὶ ὅς ᾧν represents a free translation of this and hence appears to preserve a more original reading.

⁴²⁵ EMML 36 & 1768 insert *but*.

⁴²⁶ C.f. Milik (1976), 189, 348 & plate XI.

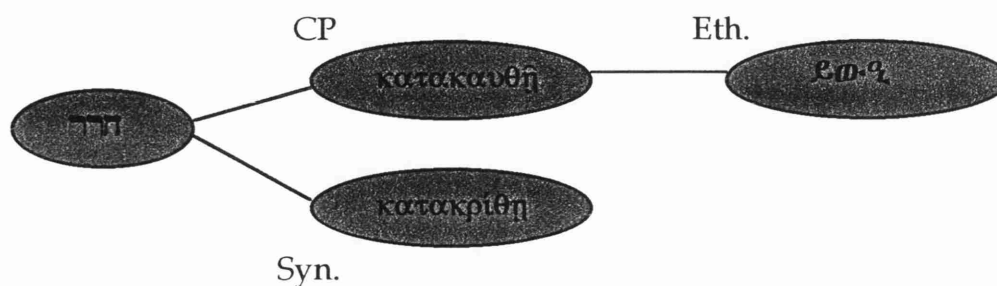
CP's καὶ δταν is probably a misreading of καὶ δς ἄν, and it is this misreading which underlies the Ethiopic's errant ወሰላላ.⁴²⁷ This suggests that the *Vorlage* underlying the Ethiopic translation was akin to the Greek of CP rather than the Aramaic or the Greek of Syncellus.⁴²⁸

In view of this observation, it is not surprising that the rest of the first sentence has an agreement between the Ethiopic and CP against Syncellus in the verbs used:

CP/Eth.	<i>to burn ... to perish</i>
Syn.	<i>to be condemned ... to perish</i>

Milik's restoration of חריר for the first verb could explain the divergent Greek forms as the root חרר pertains to both burning and being judged.⁴²⁹

Thus we can trace the development of this phrase as follows:



⁴²⁷ This was first suggested by Charles and has been proved correct - c.f. Charles (1893), 339.

⁴²⁸ This conclusion does not suggest that CP is a less reliable witness to the Aramaic version than Syncellus as there is a clear explanation for the deviation attested in CP.

⁴²⁹ C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI.

On the next line of fragment 4QEn^c 1 v, Milik restored לְכֹל יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוֹדִין and translated it as ... *I shall judge, they will perish for all* ...⁴³⁰ Although the *perish* corresponds to the second verb as attested in the other versions, the *I shall judge* is rather problematic.⁴³¹ Milik's translation of יְהוֹדִין is probably at fault, and should be amended to *then* which makes more sense and is compatible with the other versions:⁴³²

לְכֹל יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוֹדִין - *then they shall perish for all*

Whichever rendering one prefers, it is clear that this first sentence has suffered much in transmission, with neither the Greek nor the Ethiopic versions preserving the whole sentence.

In the second sentence, CP agrees with the Ethiopic save for a minor deviation in the last phrase:

CP γενεᾱς - *of the generation*

Eth. ትውልደ ፤ ትውልድ - *of all generations.*

Syncellus makes three alterations to this sentence:

- omitting ὁμοῦ - *together*
- changing the verb from the 3. pl. to the 3. s.

⁴³⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI.

⁴³¹ Knibb states that this section of Aramaic does not correspond to any of the versions - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 90.

⁴³² Contra Black who accepts Milik's interpretation and incorporates it into his translation. This is rather problematic methodologically, as the reading is ambiguous in the Aramaic and not supported by the other versions - c.f. Black (1985), 31, 138.

- adding the final αὐτῶν

Syncellus then ends his second Enoch passage with the following paragraphs:

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους ἐν ᾧ ὤμοσαν καὶ ἀνεθεμέψαν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ μὴ ἀποστῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ψυχὸς καὶ χιῶν καὶ πάχνη, καὶ δρόσος οὐ μὴ καταβῇ εἰς αὐτό, εἰ μὴ εἰς κατάραν καταβήσεται ἐπ' αὐτό, μέχρις ἡμέρας κρίσεως τῆς μεγάλης.

ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ κατακαυθήσεται καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται κατακαιόμενον καὶ τηκόμενον ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρός, οὕτως κατακαήσεται περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων ὀργὴ μεγάλη καθ' ὑμῶν, κατὰ τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐ παύσεται ἡ ὀργὴ αὕτη ἀφ' ὑμῶν, μέχρι καιροῦ σφαγῆς τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν.

καὶ ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθανοῦνται οἱ ἔντιμοι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ ἔσονται πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν.

καὶ μὴ δόξητε ἔτι ζῆσαι ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσα ὁδὸς ἐκφεύξεως ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν ὠργίσθη ὑμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν αἰώνων.

μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἐκφεύξεσθε ταῦτα.

And concerning the mountain in which they swore and cursed with their fellow, that in this age cold and snow and frost should not depart from it, and neither would dew descend upon it, except it descends upon it for a curse, until the great day of judgement.⁴³³

In that time, it shall be exalted and it shall be humbled, and it shall burn up completely and melt away just as wax from fire, thus it shall burn up completely on account of all its work.

And now I speak to you, O sons of men, great wrath against you, against your sons, and this wrath shall not leave off from you, until the time of the slaughter of your sons.

And your loved ones are lost and your precious ones are dead from all the earth, because all the days of their life from now will by no means be more than one hundred and twenty years.

And do not suppose that they may yet live for more years, for there is not any way of escape for them from now on, because of the anger to which the King of all the ages has been provoked towards you.

Do not suppose that you will escape these things.

⁴³³ Syncellus lived in the Levant before moving to Byzantium. Thus he demonstrates here his knowledge of the topography and climate of the region which today is part of the disputed Golan Heights - the mountainous region on the Israeli-Syrian border. The high point, Mount Hermon, is prone to being covered with snow and frost, particularly in the

Thus Syncellus concludes by weaving some Biblical elements into his Enoch account. The principal addition is the span of one hundred and twenty years which is to elapse before the judgement of the flood. This is taken from Genesis 6:3. Of interest also is Syncellus' idea that the mountain upon which the Watchers descended is condemned, on account of its works, and shall be melted away just like wax in a fire. Although the guilt of the mountain appears to have been Syncellus' own invention, the mode of punishment is certainly based upon the New Testament's apocalypticism, particularly 2 Peter 3:10 which mentions the earth and its elements melting in fierce heat along with its works.

Syncellus' conclusion also demonstrates his agenda. The conclusion is a clear warning that unless one avoids the sins of the Watchers, one will share in their punishment. The punishment of the mountain emphasises this point - if an inanimate object is judged so fiercely, how can one who chooses to act in such a way escape punishment? The specific sin highlighted by Syncellus in his conclusion is ὁργή - *illicit passion / wrath*.⁴³⁴

Thus we see that Syncellus had a rather specific agenda motivating his incorporation of the Watcher story into his chronology. This agenda went beyond translation into the realms of exhortation and warning. Therefore, the translation itself should be treated with a certain degree of caution.

Winter months. It is possible that Syncellus has incorporated another source, such as a local folk tale, which seeks to explain the climate on Mount Hermon.

⁴³⁴ This is a strong theological term in the New Testament used both for an illicit human emotion and the righteous wrath of God against sinful mankind. This corresponds well to its use in Syncellus' conclusion.

1 Enoch 10:15

“And⁴³⁵ destroy⁴³⁶ all the souls of folly and⁴³⁷ the sons of the Watchers because they have oppressed men.”

The Ethiopic is very much in agreement with CP in this verse. The Ethiopic ተወኒት refers to *folly* in a sexual sense, rather than the acts of a simpleton, so it is a good rendering of CP's κῑβδήλων - *adulteration*. In CP, the crime of the sons of the Watchers is simply ἀδικῆσαι - *wrong doing*. This is defined more specifically in the Ethiopic version using the verb ገፍዐ - *to oppress*.

⁴³⁵ EML 2436 omits *and*.

⁴³⁶ Black translates this *I shall destroy* noting (with Dillmann) that the Ethiopic አጎገሉሙ is ambiguous. This is rather problematic, however, as the only other evidence we have for this passage is CP's explicit use of the imperative ἀπόλεσον. Black uses the appearance of אברת at the start of verse 16 as evidence for its use at the start of verse 15. This itself is probable as CP indeed has the same form (ἀπόλεσον) at the start of each verse. But the surest conclusion to deduce from this is that the Greek translation of the Aramaic consistently rendered אברת with the imperative ἀπόλεσον, and that this imperative was then rendered by the imperative አጎገሉሙ in the Ethiopic tradition. C.f. Black (1985), 138-9.

⁴³⁷ EML 2440 inserts *likewise/also*.

1 Enoch 10:16

“Destroy all oppression from the face of the earth, and⁴³⁸ every wicked deed shall come to an end. And the plant of righteousness and truth will be manifested, and the doing of righteousness shall serve as a blessing.⁴³⁹ And truth they will plant in joy forever.”

The Qumran fragment 4QEn^c 1 v provides the following evidence:⁴⁴⁰

[וַאֲכַרְתָּ עוֹלָה מִן]	<i>And destroy wrong from ...</i>
נִצְבֹת קוֹ שֶׁמֶט וְתִהְיוּ אֵל	<i>plant of truth and it will be ...</i>

Thus it appears that the phrase *righteousness and truth* as attested in the Ethiopic tradition and CP is an expansion of an original **קוֹשֶׁמֶט** - *uprightness/truth*. The scope of meaning contained in **קוֹשֶׁמֶט** may have prompted this expansion.⁴⁴¹

As in the previous verse, the Greek ἀδικίαν has been rendered with the more specific **ግፍግ**. Thus the translators appear to be consistent whenever they adopt a more interpretative, as opposed to literal, method.

⁴³⁸ EML 1768 & 2436 omit *and*.

⁴³⁹ For this rendering of **ወይከውን ፣ ለበረከት ፣ ግብር ፣ ጽድቅ**, c.f. Dillmann (1907), 446.

⁴⁴⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI.

Another example of this method is the expansion of ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς - *from the earth* into እምገጽ ፣ ምድር - *from the face of the earth*. Both the Qumran fragment 4QEn^c 1 v and CP agree in having this verse start with *and*, but this is not attested in the Ethiopic tradition.⁴⁴²

The remainder of this verse has been translated rather freely, with the following expansion in the Ethiopic version:

ወይከውን ፣ ለበረከት ፣ ግብር ፣ ጽድቅ ፣ ወርቅዕ

and the doing of righteousness shall be a blessing, and truth⁴⁴³

The purpose of this expansion appears to have been to explain further the reference to *righteousness* and *truth*.

⁴⁴¹ Knibb rightly points out the curious spacing between the letters of this word in 4QEn^c 1 v - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 90. There may be some scribal problem here, so this conclusion is only tentative.

⁴⁴² The exception is the Tana 9 manuscript highlighted by Knibb, but this is an isolated case - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 36, 425; II, 90.

⁴⁴³ Contra Black who suggests that CP has omitted the phrase - c.f. Black (1985), 139.

1 Enoch 10:17

“And now⁴⁴⁴ all the righteous will be humble⁴⁴⁵ and they will be alive until they beget one thousand⁴⁴⁶, and all the days of their youth and their Sabbath they shall complete⁴⁴⁷ in peace.”

In the first clause, CP reads:

καὶ νῦν πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκφεύξονται ...

And now all the righteous shall escape ...

This is confirmed by Qumran fragment 4QEn^c 1 v:⁴⁴⁸

... ןוּטוֹן יִשְׁרָאֵל *the upright* shall escape ...

This differs from the reading attested in the majority of the Ethiopic manuscripts. EMM 1768, however, preserves the correct reading:⁴⁴⁹

ወይእኬኒ ፣ ከኣሉሙ ፣ ጸድቃን ፣ ይጉደዩ

And now all the righteous will escape ...

⁴⁴⁴ The Ethiopic ወይእኬኒ can mean either *and now* or *and then*. The decision to render it as *and now* is based upon CP's καὶ νῦν.

⁴⁴⁵ EMM 1768 reads *will escape* instead of *will be humble*.

⁴⁴⁶ EMM 2080 omits *one thousand*.

⁴⁴⁷ EMM 1768 reads *he shall complete* instead of *they shall complete*.

⁴⁴⁸ C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI.

⁴⁴⁹ Knibb highlights a further four manuscripts with this reading - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 37.

The change from 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 to 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 within the Ethiopic tradition is easily understood.

The other difference between CP and the Ethiopic tradition is the use of the plurals χιλιάδας - *thousands* and τὰ σάββατα - *Sabbaths*, which the Ethiopic has rendered with a singular in each case.

The rest of the Aramaic evidence confirms the readings attested in both CP and the Ethiopic. Firstly, the Aramaic gives ܘܠܗܘܢ - *and they shall* immediately following ܝܫܠܡܝܢ, which corresponds to the text as preserved in the later traditions.

Secondly, after a small gap the Aramaic reads ܘܒܠ ܝܡܝ - *and all the days of*, corresponding to καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι and ܘܗܝܠ ܝܡܝܢ ܫܠܡܝܢ.

Thirdly, and most controversially, the Aramaic reads ܘܫܝܒܬܝܢܢ ܒܫܠܡ, which Milik rendered as *and] your old age in peace*.⁴⁵⁰ The problem with this understanding is that the ܘܫܝܒܬܝܢܢ is ambiguous, and the reading ܘܫܝܒܬܝܢܢ - *and] your Sabbaths* is equally possible and is confirmed by the subsequent translations. The choice of one possible reading, which differs from the later evidence, simply for the sake of sense is rather problematic as the modern reader may be oblivious to the point the ancient writer is trying to make. The fulfilment of the Sabbaths appears to have been an important eschatological hope - c.f. for example Ezekiel 46:1-3.

⁴⁵⁰ C.f. Milik (1976), 191. Knibb follows Milik in this understanding of ܘܫܝܒܬܝܢܢ, stating that - *and of their old age* "is obviously required" - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 90. The suggestion was made first by Wellhausen - c.f. also Black (1985), 139.

Assuming the reading שבתכון [ו - *and*] *your Sabbaths* to be correct, the later versions still deviate by changing the possessive pronoun from the second to the third person: καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν; 𐤓𐤀𐤆𐤏𐤕 𐤁 𐤍𐤕𐤓𐤕. This is more evidence for a Greek as opposed to Aramaic *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic version.

1 Enoch 10:18

“And in those days, the whole earth will be cultivated in righteousness, and the whole of it will be planted *with* trees and filled *with* blessing.”

It appears that in the Aramaic there was a pun in the first clause of this verse. Qumran fragment 4QEn^c 1 v reads **בְּקִשְׁתָּ** - *in straightness/truth*, which the later versions render well as ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ and በጽድቅ.⁴⁵¹ The use of **קִשְׁתָּ** in the context of planting makes a pun with **קִשְׁתָּ** - a fragrant root or shrub.

The Ethiopic and CP differ markedly in the second clause:

Eth. **ወከላንታሃ ፣ ትተክል ፣ ዕፀወ**

... and the whole of it will be planted with trees ...

CP **καὶ φυτευθήσεται δένδρον ἐν αὐτῇ**

... and a tree will be planted in it ...

As restored by Milik, the Aramaic appears to confirm the text of the Ethiopic as opposed to CP in the second clause:⁴⁵²

ובולה תתנצב *and all of it will be [planted]*

⁴⁵¹ C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI. Milik's restoration of **בְּקִשְׁתָּ** is reliable.

⁴⁵² C.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI.

Milik's reading of **ובולה** is by no means certain, however, as only the top part of each letter is visible on the fragment. The reading **ועלה** is equally possible⁴⁵³, which would give **ועלה תתנצב** - *and upon it will be planted*, corresponding to CP rather than the Ethiopic.⁴⁵⁴

The Aramaic fragments appear to end the verse with **ברכה** - *blessing*, which is well translated by both **εὐλογίας** and **በረከተ**.

The Ethiopic appears to have expanded the opening of the verse. CP starts simply with **τότε**, for which the Ethiopic has **ወበእማንቲ ፣ መዋዕል** - *and in those days*. This is a method consistently applied by the Ethiopic translators - c.f. the start to 1 Enoch 10:13 & 11:1.

⁴⁵³ C.f. Fitzmyer & Harrington (1978), 146-7 – text 44, line 3 – for an example of this form.

⁴⁵⁴ The temptation to accept Milik's restoration as evidence for an Aramaic *Vorlage* proved irresistible for Knibb who concluded that as the Ethiopic appears closer to the Aramaic than CP, this is "a valuable example of the independent value" of the Ethiopic - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 91. Unfortunately, this conclusion is based upon a very questionable reading of the Aramaic.

1 Enoch 10:19

“And all pleasing trees they will plant upon it, and they will plant upon it vines and⁴⁵⁵ the vine which shall be planted⁴⁵⁶ upon it will produce fruit⁴⁵⁷ in abundance. And every seed which shall be sown⁴⁵⁸ upon it - one measure shall produce a thousand and one measure of olives shall produce ten presses of olive oil.”

It appears that the Ethiopic is a rather free and expanded translation of the Greek in this verse. In the first clause, CP and the Ethiopic differ greatly:

Eth. ወከላሉ ፣ ዕፀወ ፣ ኃሄት ፣ ደተከሉ ፣ ዲቤሃ

And all pleasing trees they will plant upon it ...

CP καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα τῆς γῆς ἀγαλλιάσονται·

And all the trees of the earth shall rejoice ...

The Aramaic evidence from 4QEn^c 1 v is too meagre for any conclusions to be made concerning which best represents the original:⁴⁵⁹

ובול אילנין *and all trees ...*

⁴⁵⁵ EMML 1768 omits *and*.

⁴⁵⁶ EMML 2436 reads *which they shall plant* instead of *which shall be planted*.

⁴⁵⁷ EMML 1768 reads *wine* instead of *fruit*.

⁴⁵⁸ EMML 2436 reads *which they shall sow* instead of *which shall be sown*.

⁴⁵⁹ For the Aramaic, c.f. Milik (1976), 189-90, 348 & plate XI. Knibb argues that CP is corrupt. Note Knibb's mistranslation of $\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ as *they will be planted* rather than *it shall be planted* - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 91.

The combination of trees rejoicing and a renewed fruitfulness in nature appears to be characteristic of exilic and post-exilic literature. For example, Isaiah 55:12c-13a state that:

And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress,

instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle.

Thus the text of CP, although corrupt in its use of τῆς γῆς, may still preserve the sense of the original in its use of the verb *to rejoice*.

In the second clause, CP and the Ethiopic differ in what is produced by the vines:

Eth. ይገብር ፣ ፍሬ ፣ ለጽጋብ

... will produce fruit in abundance.

CP ποιήσουσιν προχοῦς οἴνου χιλιάδας

... will produce thousands of measures of wine.

EMML 1768 concurs with CP in this respect: ይገብር ፣ ወይ ፣ ለጽጋብ - *will produce wine in abundance.*⁴⁶⁰ Thus it appears that CP is more reliable in this clause.

Apart from what has already been discussed, the Ethiopic differs from CP in the following respects:

- The Ethiopic uses ሂሳብ - *upon it* four times in this verse, whereas no such preposition occurs in CP.
- The Ethiopic has nothing representing CP's φυτευθήσεται.
- The Ethiopic expands καὶ σπόρου - *and concerning the seed* into ወከላ ፣ ዘርእ ፣ ዘይዘራእ ፣ ሂሳብ - *and every seed which shall be sown upon it*.
- The Ethiopic changes ποιήσει καθ' ἕκαστον μέτρον - *each one shall produce according to its measure* into አሐዲ ፣ መስፈርት ፣ ትገብር ፣ አልፈ - *one measure shall produce a thousand*, importing the *thousand* from the previous clause which discusses *wine*.

The last point emphasises that CP is more realistic in its expectations of the harvests of the eschaton. In particular, the quantitative element *thousands* appears better placed with the measures of wine produced by *vines*, rather than with the one measure of olive oil.

⁴⁶⁰ Knibb identifies a further four manuscripts with this reading - c.f. Knibb (1978), I, 38.

1 Enoch 10:20

“And you, cleanse the earth from all oppression⁴⁶¹ and⁴⁶² from all⁴⁶³ iniquity and from all sin and from all ungodliness and from⁴⁶⁴ all uncleanness which is being done upon the earth. Destroy them from⁴⁶⁵ upon the earth.”

The Ethiopic translators appear to have struggled with the final ἐξάλειψον of the Greek version. In CP, the plural τὰς γινομένας suggests that ἐξάλειψον is to be considered as having two objects:

CP καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας τὰς
 γινομένας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐξάλειψον.
 and wipe out the ungodliness and all the uncleanness which are
 happening upon the earth

The Ethiopic translators separated the final verb from the rest of the verse, and gave it an objective pronominal suffix and an indirect object:

Eth. አገልፋሙ ፣ እምዲበ ፣ ምድር ።
 Destroy them from upon the earth.

⁴⁶¹ EMM 2080 inserts *and from every unclean thing*.

⁴⁶² EMM 2436 omits *and*.

⁴⁶³ EMM 36 omits *from all*.

⁴⁶⁴ EMM 2436 omits *from*.

⁴⁶⁵ EMM 2080 & 2440 omits *from*.

The remainder of the last clause (καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας τὰς γινομένας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) was then added to the list of objects of the first verb. In order to make these two new objects conform to the pattern of the original list, *from all* was added to the first object and *from* to the second.

The verb **ἡγάσθη**, used to render ἐξάλειψον, is not entirely suitable as the latter carries the nuance of *washing*. Thus the final part of this verse could be understood as *Wash over the ungodliness and all the uncleanness which are happening upon the earth*. This is especially important in the context of the flood, but is completely lost in the Ethiopic version.

1 Enoch 10:21

“And all the sons of men shall be righteous, and all⁴⁶⁶ the nations shall worship⁴⁶⁷ and bless me⁴⁶⁸, and all of them shall bow down before me.”

The first clause is not attested in CP, but there is not enough evidence for an assessment to be made as to which tradition best represents the original.⁴⁶⁹

CP and the Ethiopic agree in the rest of the verse except for the addition of the final object **ⲁⲧ** in the Ethiopic.

⁴⁶⁶ EMML 2080 & 2436 omit *all*.

⁴⁶⁷ EMML 1768 inserts *you*.

⁴⁶⁸ EMML 1768 reads *you* instead of *me*.

⁴⁶⁹ Milik's imaginative use of fragment 4QEn^a 1 vi by no means solves the issue - c.f. Milik (1976), 162-3, 343 & plate V.

1 Enoch 10:22

“And the earth shall be cleansed from all depravity and from all sin and from all torment and from all anguish⁴⁷⁰. I will not send a flood upon it again from generation to generation until forever.”

The Ethiopic translators appear to have altered the structure of this verse in like manner to how they altered 1 Enoch 10:20. According to CP, this verse should read:

καὶ καθαρισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ μάστιγος καὶ οὐκέτι πέμψω ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος.

And all the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement and from all impurity.

Both wrath and scourge will I also no more send upon them unto all the generations of eternity.

Thus CP distinguishes between the consequences of the sins of the inhabitants of the earth - *defilement* and *impurity* - which are to be washed away by the flood, and the response of the Most High to these consequences - *wrath* and *scourge* - which are to cease once their cause is removed.

⁴⁷⁰ EMMML 2436 has *and from all anguish* preceding *and from all sin*, whilst EMMML 2440 has it preceding *and from all torment*.

No such distinction is preserved in the Ethiopic, which places the Most High's responses with the consequences of the angelic rebellion in a method akin to what was observed concerning 1 Enoch 10:20. To compensate for this, the *flood* was then added to the second clause.⁴⁷¹

In addition to the differences observed above, the Ethiopic also omits *all* from the first phrase:

CP καὶ καθαρισθήσεται πάντα ἡ γῆ ...

And all the earth shall be cleansed ...

Eth. ወትነጽሕ ፤ ምድር ...

And the earth shall be cleansed ...

This is possibly due to the number of times *all* occurs in this verse.

⁴⁷¹ Contra Black (1985), 140-1.

1 Enoch 11:1

“And in those days I will open the treasures of blessing which are in heaven in order that I will send them down upon the earth and⁴⁷² upon⁴⁷³ the work and upon the toil of the sons of men.”

CP's καὶ τότε has been expanded into ወበእማንቱ ፣ መዋዕል - *and in those days*. This also occurred in 1 Enoch 10:18, and is similar to the expansion made at the start of 1 Enoch 10:13. Thus this particular aspect of the translators' method was consistently applied.

As noted above, the majority of the Ethiopic manuscripts omit *and*, reading:

ዲበ ፣ ምድር ፣ ዲበ ፣ ግብሮሙ ፣ ወዲበ ፣ ሃማሆሙ ፣
ለውሉደ ፣ ሰብእ

upon the earth - upon the work and upon the toil of the sons of men.

CP differs from this, having:

ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, ἐπὶ τὸν κόπον τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων

upon the work - upon the toil of the sons of men.

⁴⁷² EMML 36, 1768, 1950, 2080, 2436 & 2440 omit *and*.

⁴⁷³ EMML 1768 omits *upon*.

The position of the “missing” καὶ suggests that the Ethiopic has expanded the phrase, although this is by no means certain.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁴ Black suggests that the Ethiopic translator made have introduced *upon the earth* from his knowledge of Deuteronomy 28:8 - c.f. Black (1985), 141.

1 Enoch 11:2

“Peace⁴⁷⁵ and truth will be⁴⁷⁶ in communion in all the days of eternity⁴⁷⁷ and in every generation of eternity.”

CP’s καὶ τότε has been omitted altogether in the Ethiopic. The trend thus far has been to render this as ወበእማንቱ ፣ መዋዕል - *and in those days*.⁴⁷⁸ This may have been omitted purposefully as it occurs in the previous verse, or because መዋዕል occurs later in this verse and such close repetition may have been considered to be too clumsy.

CP differs in two other ways from the Ethiopic. Firstly, CP reverses the order of *peace* and *truth*:

CP ἀλήθεια καὶ εἰρήνη

Truth and peace ...

Eth. ሰላም ፣ ወርኅዕ

Peace and truth ...

Secondly, CP ends the verse with *men* whereas the Ethiopic repeats *eternity*:

CP εἰς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς πάσας τὰς
γενεὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων

⁴⁷⁵ EMMML 1768, 2080 & 2436 read *And peace*.

⁴⁷⁶ EMMML 2080 inserts *joined*. This reflects the text of CP well, but no conclusions can be drawn as to its origins.

⁴⁷⁷ EMMML 2080 omits *of eternity*.

⁴⁷⁸ C.f. 1 Enoch 10:13, 18; 11:1.

in all the days of eternity and in all the generations of men.

Eth በክሉ ፣ መዋዕለ ፣ ዓለም ፣ ወበክሉ ፣ ትውልደ ፣
 ዓለም

in all the days of eternity and in every generation of eternity.

The repetition of ዓለም - *eternity* in the Ethiopic version is suspect, and CP certainly reads better.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁹ Black's assertion that *all the generations of men* is "an un-semitic phrase and probably a corruption" is hardly grounds for discounting the reading attested in CP. The same applies to Knibb's assertion that CP's *men* is "an anticlimax" and hence corrupt. Charles was most probably correct in his assertion that CP has preserved the more authentic text and that at some point ἁνθρώπων has been confused with αἰώνων. C.f. Charles (1893), 341; Knibb (1978), II, 92; Black (1985), 141.

§2.4 - Textual Analysis

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There are two issues regarding the different versions which need resolving at this juncture. The first relates to the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version. The second relates to the value of CP, Syncellus and Michael as textual witnesses.

Vorlage

The following verses provide evidence that the Ethiopic version was based upon a Greek, rather than an Aramaic, *Vorlage*:

1 Enoch 6:4

- use of 𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪𐩥 corresponding to ἀπεκρίθησαν
- insertion of 𐩢𐩨𐩥 based upon μέχρις

1 Enoch 6:6

- 𐩣𐩥𐩬𐩪 based upon ἰάρεδ εἰς

1 Enoch 7:1

- use of 𐩨𐩣𐩬 corresponds to CP's use of ἕκαστος rather than the Aramaic's use of ܠܠ

1 Enoch 7:2

- omission of 𐤀𐤏𐤔𐤁 𐤍𐤏𐤔𐤁 𐤍𐤏𐤔𐤁

1 Enoch 7:4

- 𐤁𐤏𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤓 based upon κατησθίονσαν rather than לקטלה

1 Enoch 7:6

- omission of מתעבד
- omission of כל

1 Enoch 8:1

- mistranslation of κόσμος
- confusion of τὰ μέταλλα for τὰ μετ' αὐτά

1 Enoch 8:2

- ambiguity in ἐπόρνευσαν underlying Ethiopic translator's method

1 Enoch 8:3

- agreement in the skills taught by the angels

1 Enoch 8:4

- omission of מן ארעא

1 Enoch 9:11

- confusion of καὶ ἕως αὐτοὺς for καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς

1 Enoch 10:5

- possible confusion of ὑπόθεες for ἐπίθεες

1 Enoch 10:12

- omission of 𐤍𐤁𐤅

1 Enoch 10:14

- 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤕 based upon καὶ ὅταν

1 Enoch 10:16

- 𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤁 𐤓 𐤌𐤚𐤕𐤔 corresponding to τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας

1 Enoch 10:17

- use of third person possessive pronoun (καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν; 𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤔 𐤓 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕) as opposed to second person (ושובתכו)

The above examples represent a significant body of evidence that a Greek *Vorlage* underlies the Ethiopic version.

In his groundbreaking paper *An Aramaic "Vorlage" of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?*, Ullendorff argued that there was a direct link between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions. Furthermore, according to Ullendorff, the Syrian

translators responsible for the Ethiopic version only had recourse to the Greek version when they encountered Hebrew elements in the original.⁴⁸⁰ Although this paper was published when very little of the Qumran evidence was made public, Ullendorff managed to furnish the reader with a number of examples from 1 Enoch 6-11.⁴⁸¹ These specific examples merit discussion prior to a more general comment regarding Ullendorff's hypothesis.

1 Enoch 9:8

Ullendorff asserts that ወሰከቡ ፣ ምስሌሆን ፣ ምስለ ፣ እልኩ ፣ አንስት is a literal rendering of נשנ עץ יתבץ, and further that "the Greek text misunderstands this idiom."⁴⁸² The main problem here is that CP does not misunderstand this phrase but actually omits the ምስለ ፣ እልኩ ፣ አንስት element altogether. The apparent misunderstanding occurs in Syncellus, whose καὶ συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμιάνησαν not only preserves the better reading but also appears to underlie the Ethiopic's ምስሌሆን ፣ ምስለ ፣ እልኩ ፣ አንስት construction.

1 Enoch 10:9

Ullendorff highlights what he considers to be a discrepancy between CP's μαζήρεους and the Ethiopic's correct reading መንዚራን. Ullendorff asserts

⁴⁸⁰ Ullendorff (1960), 262-3.

⁴⁸¹ In addition to the three examples discussed below, Ullendorff also suggested that the ይመጽእ ፣ ሀሉ of 1 Enoch 10:2 "endeavours to reproduce an Aramaic נשנ עץ – c.f.

that the Ethiopic መንደራን was a translation of the Aramaic מְנוּרָא and cannot be based upon CP's μαζηρέους.⁴⁸³ The problem with this argument is that CP's μαζηρέους is also derived from the Aramaic מְנוּרָא. It is likely that the unique μαζηρέους is a miscopy of an original μαμζηρέους, which was a transliteration of מְנוּרָא. The Syrian translators of the Ethiopic version, when faced with μα[μ]ζηρέους in a context which concerned the punishment of the illegitimate sons of the *Watchers*, would certainly have been able to derive መንደራን without recourse to the Aramaic version.

1 Enoch 10:17

Ullendorff asserts that both CP and the Ethiopic have “quite possibly independently misread their *Vorlage*.”⁴⁸⁴ This is a very problematic line of argument as it takes an agreement between CP and the Ethiopic and suggests that each version made the same mistake independently, rather than the logical conclusion that the Ethiopic reading was based upon that attested in CP.⁴⁸⁵

Ullendorff (1960), 266. As this example was discussed in the notes to 1 Enoch 10:2, it is not discussed below.

⁴⁸² Ullendorff (1960), 266

⁴⁸³ Ullendorff (1960), 264.

⁴⁸⁴ Ullendorff (1960), 264.

⁴⁸⁵ Even if one accepts Milik's reading of וְשִׁיבְתָּ בְּכֹן - *and your old age*, the difference in the person of the pronominal suffix (καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν; ወሰንበተ ፣ ዚእሆሙ) is clear evidence for the Ethiopic reading being based upon the Greek.

The problem with Ullendorff's hypothesis in general is its rather ingenious way of dealing with contrary evidence. Any examples of Greek influence are dismissed as points in the translation process at which the translators had recourse to the Greek version on account on Hebrew elements in the *Vorlage*. As the Aramaic version is so fragmentary, it is virtually impossible to assess such a claim. If one can produce an example of a clear dependence of the Ethiopic version upon a Greek *Vorlage*, where it can be established that the original was indeed Aramaic and not Hebrew (as is the case with 1 Enoch 10:17 discussed above), Ullendorff's response is that the two identical readings were both reached independently.

Based upon the present state of the evidence, the present author considers the evidence for a Greek *Vorlage* to be most convincing, whilst the arguments for an Aramaic *Vorlage* are at best ambiguous. Furthermore, the methodology employed by Ullendorff in the process of arguing for an Aramaic *Vorlage* is problematic, as is the seemingly uncritical acceptance of this hypothesis by later scholars.⁴⁸⁶

.....

Having ascertained that the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version was most probably Greek, we now need to assess which of the Greek traditions best

⁴⁸⁶ C.f. for example, Knibb (1978), II, 38-9 and his discussion of 1 Enoch 10:18 (p. 43) which is given as an example of a verse in which the Ethiopic agrees with the Aramaic against CP. This is discussed above in the notes to this verse.

represents this *Vorlage*. In the following verses, the Ethiopic version corresponds to the Greek of CP rather than Syncellus:

1 Enoch 6:1

- use of two adjectives rather than one

1 Enoch 6:2

- መላእክት ፤ ውሉደ ፤ ሰማያት and οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ as opposed to οἱ ἐγρήγοροι
- use of ንፁ / Δεῦτε
- ወርእዩ ... ወፈተውዎን and καὶ ἐθεάσαντο ... καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν as opposed to καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν ... καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν

1 Enoch 6:4

- ለዛቲ ፤ ምክር ፤ ግብረ and τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο as opposed to αὐτήν

1 Enoch 6:5

- use of ቦቱ and ἐν αὐτῷ

1 Enoch 6:7

- neither the Ethiopic nor CP number the list of angelic names whereas both the Aramaic and CP do

1 Enoch 9:1

- **𐤇𐤓𐤕 ... 𐤓𐤠𐤕𐤁** corresponding to **παρ[α]κύψαντες ... ἐθεάσ[αν]το**
rather than **ἀκούσαντες ... παρέκυψαν**

1 Enoch 9:6

- use of **𐤅𐤁𐤓** corresponding to the genitive **τοῦ αἰῶνος** rather than the
dative **τῷ αἰῶνι**

1 Enoch 9:8

- omission of **καὶ ἐδίδαξαν αὐτὰς μίσσητρα ποιεῖν**

1 Enoch 9:11

- **𐤇𐤓𐤕** corresponding to **πάντα** rather than **αὐτὰ**
- **𐤇𐤓𐤕** corresponding to **ταῦτα** rather than **αὐτοὺς**

1 Enoch 10:7

- single use of **τῆς γῆς** underlying the double use of **𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤠**
- use of **𐤅𐤓𐤕𐤠𐤓𐤕** corresponding to **τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν** rather than **τοὺς**
υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
- **ἐπέταξαν** possibly underlying confusion of **𐤕𐤓𐤕** with **𐤕𐤓𐤕**

1 Enoch 10:8

- use of **ወላዕሌሁ** corresponding to καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ rather than καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ

1 Enoch 10:10

- use of **በእንቲአሆሙ** corresponding to περὶ αὐτῶν
- use of **ይከውን** corresponding to ἔσται rather than ἔστι

1 Enoch 10:11

- use of **አይደል** corresponding to δῆλωσον rather than δῆσον
- use of **አንስት** corresponding to γυναιξὶν rather than θυγατράσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων

1 Enoch 10:14

- use of **ወሶቤሃ** corresponding to καὶ ὅταν rather than καὶ ὅς ἂν
- **ይውላ** based upon κατακαυθῇ rather than κατακρίθῃ

In addition to the above examples, the following verses feature in Syncellus extensive alterations and/or embellishments to the text as attested in CP and the Ethiopic: 1 Enoch 7:1-6; 8:1-4; 9:3-4, 9-10; 10:2-4 & 9. This extensive list contrasts with the somewhat shorter list of verses which contain agreements

between Syncellus and the Ethiopic against CP: 1 Enoch 6:1; 9:1, 5, 8; 10:1, 4, 7, 8, 11 & 12.

Thus the evidence favours the dependence of the Ethiopic version upon a Greek *Vorlage* akin to CP rather than the excerpts quoted in Syncellus.

Value of CP

In view of the above conclusion, it is important that we assess the value of CP, both as a witness to the original Aramaic version and as an example of the Greek text which underlies the Ethiopic version.

Past scholarship has not been very sympathetic regarding the value of CP. For example, Knibb writes of “the careless way in which the copy was made,” and gives a list of the “many mistakes ... numerous omissions ... [and] some additions.”⁴⁸⁷ Black also refers to “the carelessness of the copy, its frequent itacisms, misspellings, omissions etc.”⁴⁸⁸

Although Black recognises the value of CP as an example of the Greek text underlying the Ethiopic version, he reiterates earlier conclusions that the quotes in Syncellus are “in some respects more faithful to its Semitic base,”⁴⁸⁹ and “a more reliable representation ... of the original”.⁴⁹⁰ Thus the value of CP as a witness to the Aramaic original is diminished in respect to Syncellus.

⁴⁸⁷ Knibb (1978), II, 17.

⁴⁸⁸ Black (1970), 8.

⁴⁸⁹ Black (1985), 4.

⁴⁹⁰ Black (1970), 8.

The only recent assessment⁴⁹¹ which is more positive regarding the value of CP is that of Milik who states that “in spite of [CP’s] omissions, glosses etc., [CP is] unquestionably superior to the corresponding part of the Ethiopic Enoch. Moreover, the Ethiopic translation was made from a Greek model which was relatively close to [CP].”⁴⁹²

The present author concurs with this view and suggests that the following three examples illustrate the reliability of CP as a witness to the original Aramaic version.

1 Enoch 6:8

CP’s οὗτοι εἰσιν ἄρχαι αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα corresponds to the Aramaic עשרת אנן רבנין ורבני עסרתא, whereas the Ethiopic ስሉ ፣ ለሙንቱ ፣ ሀበደቶሙ ፣ ለ፪፻መላእክት ፣ ወባዕዳን ፣ ኩሉ ፣ ምስሌሆሙ is clearly inferior.

1 Enoch 9:4

CP’s δόξης σου corresponds to the Aramaic דָּקְרָךְ rather than the majority Ethiopic reading ስብሐቲሁ.

⁴⁹¹ By *recent* is meant those analyses performed since the publication of the Aramaic fragments.

⁴⁹² Milik (1976), 71-2.

1 Enoch 10:17

CP's οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκφεύξονται corresponds to the Aramaic קשיטין יפלטון rather than the majority Ethiopic reading ጸድቃን ፣ ደገንደ.

Once again, in view of the extremely fragmentary nature of the Aramaic evidence, these three examples are a significant testimony to the value of CP as a witness to the Aramaic version. In addition to the above examples, the present author considers the following verses to be best preserved in CP: 1 Enoch 6:3, 5; 8:1; 9:3, 6-7, 10-11; 10:2-4, 7-11. This extensive list contrasts with the following three references in which CP's reading is inferior: 1 Enoch 9:1, 5; 10:6.

The Chronicle Tradition

Even though the excerpt in Michael's *Chronicle* is rather short, there is still enough evidence to demonstrate that it is derived from the same source as Syncellus' quotes – c.f. the discussion in §2.1.2. A good example of this is found in 1 Enoch 6:4, in which Michael's מל corresponds to Syncellus' αὐτήν and not CP's τοῦτο. Other examples are found in 1 Enoch 6:1-2 & 5.

Contrary to the impression given by Black that Syncellus' quotes better represent the Semitic original,⁴⁹³ there is only one reference in which Syncellus preserves a reading which is attested in the Aramaic but not in CP.

⁴⁹³ C.f. footnotes 489-90 above.

This is found in 1 Enoch 8:3, in which Syncellus' πάντες οἱ οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἀνακαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια ταῖς γυναῖξιν corresponds to the Aramaic ובולחון שריו לגליה ריין לנשיהן. Crucially, CP has no equivalent to this phrase. Thus one cannot state that CP's reading is corrupt – it is simply the case that CP has omitted the clause.

Otherwise, Syncellus' quotations often enter the realm of paraphrase rather than strict translation so they cannot be said to represent the original better. Indeed the whole of chapters seven and eight are paraphrased rather than translated in Syncellus' "version". The additional elements within these paraphrases betray the intention of the chronicler, be it Syncellus himself or his source.

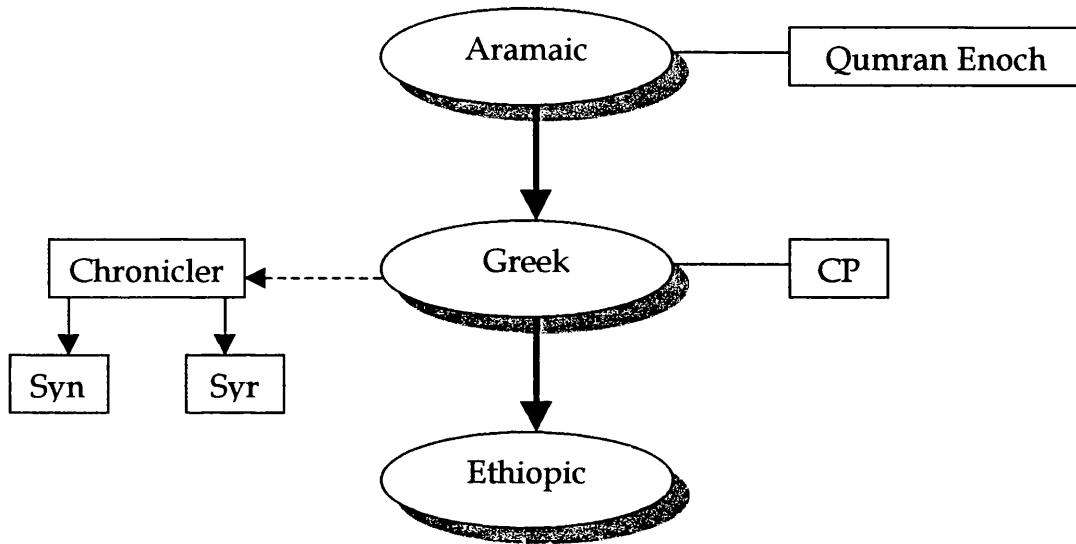
Chief among these additional elements is the idea that the women are to blame for the sin of the angels – c.f. 1 Enoch 8:1. This is certainly not part of the original Enochic narrative, and corresponds more to the account given in Jubilees 4-5. The same can be said regarding the three types of giants listed in Syncellus' equivalent of 1 Enoch 7:1-2, which is clearly derived from Jubilees 7:22.

Thus Syncellus' version is not so much a translation of a part of the *Book of Watchers*, but more a compilation of various sources. Whether it was compiled by Syncellus, or by his source, cannot be established, but the similarities between the quotes of Michael and Syncellus imply that they both draw upon the work of an earlier chronicler.

§2.5 - Summary

§2.5 – Summary.

The following diagram illustrates the present author's hypothesis.



The Qumran Enoch fragments represent the Aramaic version which was translated into Greek. This Greek version, for which CP is our sole witness, was the basis for the incorporation of the *Watcher* story into the work of the *Chronicler*. The work of this *Chronicler* underlies the quotations in the chronicles of Syncellus and Michael the Syrian. Aside from this *Chronicle Tradition*, the Greek version was in turn translated into Ethiopic.

The *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version was the Greek, in particular a version akin to CP. As the Aramaic fragments are rather limited in what they reveal of the original text, our most reliable source, contrary to prior opinion, is probably CP.

The embellished and incomplete quotations preserved in the chronicles of Syncellus and Michael the Syrian were not intended to furnish the reader with a translation of the *Book of Enoch*. Rather they represent the incorporation of the *Watcher* myth into a larger context for a specific purpose. Hence their usefulness as textual witnesses to the original version is limited.

§2.6 – Text Appendix 1
The Karshuni Enoch extract

§2.6 – Text Appendix 1: The Karshuni Enoch extract.

As mentioned in §2.1.2, British Library manuscript BMOr 4402 is an hitherto unpublished Karshuni translation of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle*. Dated to 1846, this Karshuni version was translated directly from the Syriac. The section of interest begins in the left column of page 3*, and an image of this section is given in Plate 1 on the following page. Following this, Plate 2 reproduces Chabot's facsimile of Michael's Syriac Enoch quote to enable a comparison with its Karshuni translation. Finally, Plate 3 gives an Arabic version which has been constructed on the basis of the Karshuni text. This is designed to assist the reader who is acquainted with Arabic but is unable to read the Syriac script of the Karshuni version.⁴⁹⁴

The following is a translation of the Karshuni extract:

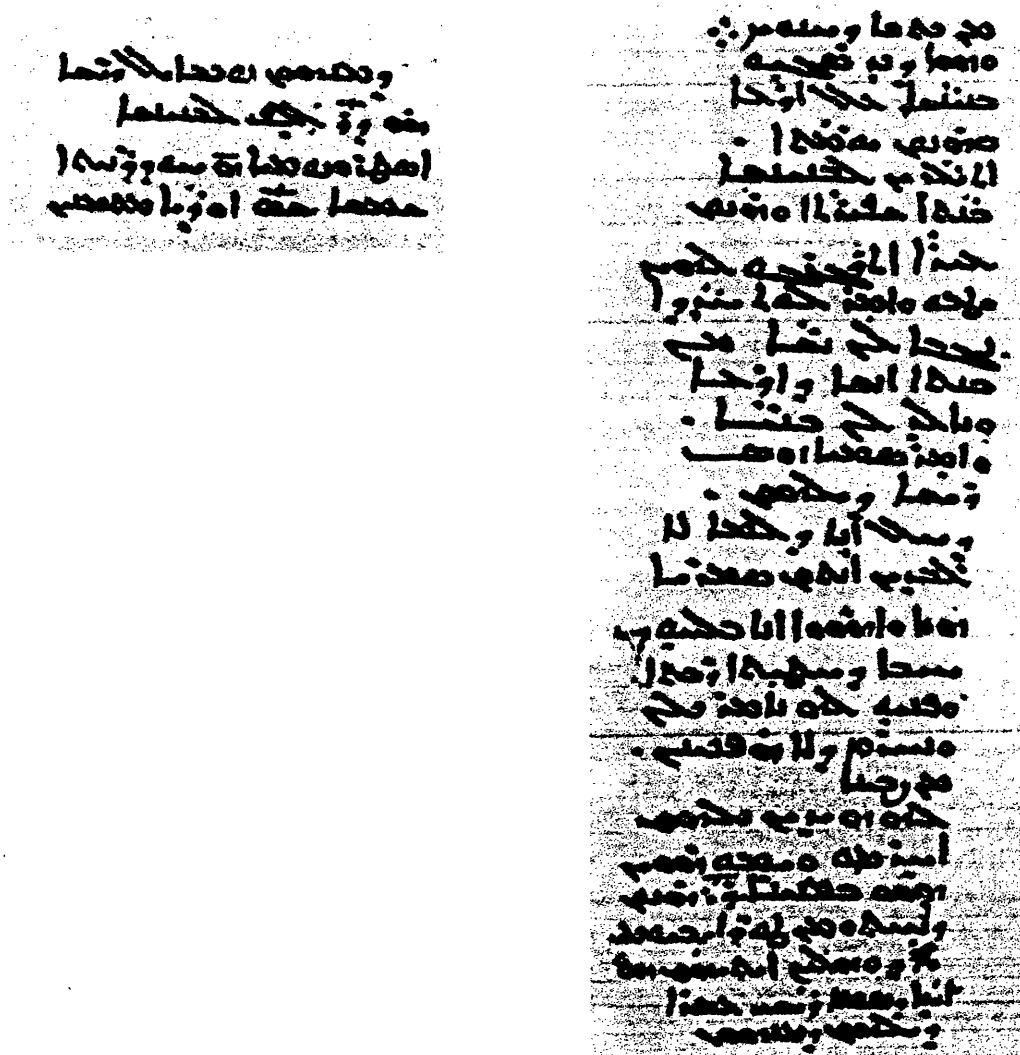
From the *Book of Enoch*:

And it was when the people increased upon the earth in those days were born to the people fair daughters. And they lusted after them, those who are named *bnw ʿlw hym*, and they said to each other, "Let us choose for ourselves women from the daughters of the people of the earth and beget sons."

⁴⁹⁴ The present author would like to express sincere thanks to M. Said of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, for his assistance in both the translation of the Karshuni passage and the construction of the Arabic text. The present author, of course, accepts full responsibility for any errors in the final forms of the text as presented in this chapter. Our gratitude is also extended to the British Library, London, for their generosity regarding our use of BMOr 4402.

[illegible]

Plate 2 - Chabot's facsimile of Michael the Syrian's Enoch quote



Taken from J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris: 1899), 3-4.

Plate 3 - Arabic version of the Karshuni Enoch fragment

من كتاب "خنوك"

"وكان لما كثر الناس على الأرض في تلك الأيام ، وولد للناس بنات
حسنات ، فاشتبهوهن المدعوين بنو اللوهم ، وقالوا لبعضهم : فلنختَر لنا نساء
من بنات ناس الأرض ونلد بنين . ووقف سميازوس رئيسهم وقال : أخاف لنا
ما تفعلوا هذا الفعل وأصير أنا وحدي مشجوباً بهذا الإثم العظيم . فأجابوه
قائلين : نحلف كلنا ونحرم أننا ما نقف ولا نرجع من هذه الإرادة التي
هويناها: فهناك حرموا كلهم وحلفوا وكانوا نحو مئتين رجل . أولئك الذين
نزلوا من الجبل في أيام يارد ، الذين قد عمت عقول رؤوسهم ، الذين منهم
كوكبيل رأس المئتين ذلك الذي علّم (الأسترنوميا) أي علم النجوم . أعني دائرة
الشمس الذين عددهم ٣٦٠ برجاً .

And *Semyazos* their head stood and said, "I fear for us, that you will not do this action and I alone will become condemned in this great sin."

And they answered saying, "We swear, all of us, and we make a vow that we shall not stop nor turn from this will which we desired."

Then all of them were excommunicated, around two hundred persons, those who descended from the mount in the days of *Jared*, whose mind was blind.

One of them, *Kokabel*, taught astronomy, that is the science of the stars. I mean the cycle of the sun whose number is three hundred and sixty horoscopes.

Notes

We would expect this extract to follow the distinctive readings associated with the Chronicle Tradition, and in some respects it does. For example, the Karshuni version's use of one adjective **ܠܠܗܘܐ**, to modify the *daughters* at the start of the quote, corresponds to Michael's **ܠܠܗܘܐ** and Syncellus' **ὁραταί**.

1 Enoch 6:2 also exhibits this trend of the Karshuni version agreeing with the distinctive readings of Michael and Syncellus:

1 Enoch 6:2

- omits the imperative *Come*
- has *the daughters of the people of the earth*

Where there was a disagreement between Michael and Syncellus, the Karshuni agrees with the Syriac. For example, in 1 Enoch 6:1 **ܠܠܗܝܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ** agrees with **ܠܠܗܝܡ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ** which is absent in Syncellus. Again, this is to be expected as BMO² 4402 states that it was translated from the Syriac version. Other examples of the Karshuni agreeing with Michael against Syncellus include:

1 Enoch 6:3

- omission of relative pronoun in describing *Semyazos*
- omission of indirect object for the verb *to say*
- omission of the verb *to want*

What is surprising, in view of the above, is the way in which the Karshuni version diverges from the expected reading when introducing the central characters of the narrative. We discussed in the notes to 1 Enoch 6:2 the division in the sources between the Ethiopic and CP (*the angels – the sons of heaven*) and Michael and Syncellus (*the Watchers*). Both represent a distinct treatment of the Hebrew expression **בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**. The former phrase defines who this group is whilst the latter uses a very specific technical term and

assumes that the reader is aware whom it refers to. The Karshuni extract rejects both of these methods:

ܒܢܝ ܠܚܝܡ those who are named *bnw 'lwhym*

Thus the Karshuni version reverts back to the Hebrew expression and transliterates it. This is unique amongst the different Enoch versions and demonstrates that the Karshuni version is also capable of altering the text.⁴⁹⁵

In our notes to 1 Enoch 6:7, we came across two problematic phrases in Michael's Enoch quote. Firstly, there was the following phrase:

നല്ല കിടപ്പ്, ചിട്ടയായ ഭക്ഷണം നല്ല കലണ്ടർ

and these, their dekarchs, were with Semi'azos

The translation of this phrase suggested above assumes that the problematic 𐤀𐤊𐤍 is an abbreviation for the angelic name 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤁𐤏 .

The Karshuni version, however, gives a completely different reading:

الحجج على عدم صحة هذه التفسيرات

those whose mind was blind

(lit. *those who were blinded by the mind of their heads*)

⁴⁹⁵ The use of א to represent two different Hebrew vowels is curious. Its use in אַסְתָּר makes sense, but we would have expected אֲסְתָּר rather than אַסְתָּר.

The problematic ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ of Michael's quote could be corrupted from an original clause which contained the words ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ and ܡܠܟܐ. What is clear, however, is that both versions have struggled with this clause. BMOr 4402 has an erasure (see Plate 1), so we cannot be sure which version best preserves the intended reading.

Secondly, we discussed in our notes to 1 Enoch 6:7 the problematic ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ which Brock altered and rendered as *360 zodiacs*.

Brock's intuition appears to be confirmed by the Karshuni version's ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ - *360 horoscopes*.

§2.7 - Text Appendix 2
Critique of Milik's use of the
Qumran Enoch fragments

§2.7 – Text Appendix 2: Critique of Milik's use of the

Qumran Enoch fragments.

In his introduction to the *editio princeps* of the Qumran Enoch fragments, Milik stated that “for the first book of Enoch, the Book of Watchers, we can calculate that exactly 50 per cent of the text is covered by the Aramaic fragments.”⁴⁹⁶ Before one gets too excited regarding the extent of the Aramaic evidence (as such excitement will swiftly turn to disillusionment), Milik's previous sentence needs to be taken into account. Ominously, this sentence contains the phrase “including the restored text.”

Herein is the rub. The vast majority of this 50% of the original text is Milik's “restoration”. In many cases, Milik ceases to restore, and instead begins the process of reconstruction. For example, Milik restores the following for 1 Enoch 10:9:

ולגבריאִל אמר מֵרִיא אֹל נֶא עַל מְזוּרִיא וּבְנֵי זִנּוּתָא וְאוּבְר בְּנֵי עִירִיא מִן בְּנֵי
אִנְשָׁא וּבְקֶרֶב אֲבָדָן שֶׁלַח לַהוֹן וְאַרְכַּת יוֹמִין לֹא אִתִּי לַהוֹן.

Milik's restoration of this verse, with its ninety-five letters, is based upon his identification of twenty letters (underlined above) from fragments 4QEn^b 1 iv x, y & z.⁴⁹⁷

This raises two problems. Firstly, the photographs of these fragments by no means supply the twenty (or twenty-two) letters upon which Milik

⁴⁹⁶ Milik (1976), 5.

based his restoration. The present author can see no more than eleven which can be identified with any certainty:

ולגבריאִל אמר מריא אול נא על ממוריא ובני זנותא ואובר בני עיריא מן בני
אנשא ובקרב אברן שלח להון וארכת יומין לא איתי להון.

Thus the reader of Milik's work is faced with having to contend with a consistently optimistic view of the evidence afforded by the Aramaic fragments.

Secondly, these eleven letters occur on two separate fragments. Fragment *x* has עיריא, and fragment *y* has רב אברן. The fragments do not join in any way whatsoever. Indeed, fragment *y* appears darker than *x* and the ר of fragment *x* looks different to that on fragment *y*.

It was such problems as these which brought some of the more adverse criticisms of Milik's work. For example, Barr summarised the situation well, stating that "the problem for the reader is not to identify and eliminate such characters and words as are not really there in the fragments, but to *find the ones that are there*."⁴⁹⁸

There is obviously a degree of subjectivity involved in this process. Thus whilst Milik identifies approximately 1290 letters across the three

⁴⁹⁷ Milik (1976), 175 & plate VIII. Milik's diplomatic transcription, however, gives twenty-two "visible" letters rather than twenty – c.f. p. 346.

⁴⁹⁸ *JThSt* NS 29 (1978), 519. To be fair to Milik, he does state in his introduction that the Aramaic fragments have been "reduced to tiny pieces, in truth minute crumbs" – c.f. Milik (1976), 5 – but the rest of the book pursues a wholly different and more positive approach to the Aramaic evidence. This can be very misleading for an unwarned reader.

scrolls corresponding to 1 Enoch 6-11, the present author would reduce this by about a third to 829. A verse by verse explanation for the present author's divergences from Milik would serve little purpose. The interested reader should consult the plates in Milik's volume.

§3 – Commentary

1 Enoch 6:1

The use of this verse to introduce such an in-depth narrative rests well with Hanson's definition of 1 Enoch 6-11 as an "expository narrative" (c.f. §1.3.1). The narrative is based upon Genesis 6:1-4, with the narrator taking advantage of the brevity of the Genesis account in order to construct a polemic against the mantic arts.

An alternative view has been presented, however, which seeks to demonstrate that the Genesis narrative was a summary based upon the Enoch narrative. Milik argued that "the work incorporated in En. 6-19 is earlier than the definitive version of the first chapters of Genesis".⁴⁹⁹ The main thrust of Milik's argument is that the Genesis narrative, due to its brevity, may be assumed to be an abridgement of the Enochic tradition. This same argument is presented by Black⁵⁰⁰ who also seems to prefer the priority of the Enoch traditions over the Genesis narrative due to the absence in the Genesis narrative of the celestial benefaction of mankind with the arts of civilisation. Black suggests that this was not incorporated into the Genesis narrative in order that only the corruption of the earth motif would remain to introduce the Noah saga.

Thus, according to Black, the description of the daughters is removed from the Genesis narrative as it is no longer needed. As has been noted already, however, this description occurs in Genesis 6:2. Furthermore, the

exact reverse of Black's hypothesis, viz. that the celestial benefaction of the magical arts to mankind motif was expanded into the Genesis account, provides a far more likely motive for the literary borrowing apparent between Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6.

Scholarly consensus appears to be in favour of the priority of Genesis.⁵⁰¹ VanderKam states that the "Genesis passage is the oldest extant Jewish treatment of Enoch", and posits just one of what he considers to be many arguments against Milik, asking "is it likely that a later writer would change the clear reference in 1 Enoch to angels/watchers into Genesis' more ambiguous בני-האלהים?"⁵⁰²

Taking VanderKam's observation further, if we assume that priority belongs to the Enoch narrative, we should attempt to ascertain what the Genesis narrator was trying to accomplish by summarising the Enoch narrative in such a manner. Since the most obvious aspect of the assumed summary is the neutral presentation of the actions of the בני-האלהים and the birth of the giants, and the omission of any mention of sin on their part, the most likely answer is that the Genesis narrator was attempting to absolve the angels of any sin ascribed to them. If this was the case, why does the Genesis narrator then change the *angels* into the בני-האלהים? Having already

⁴⁹⁹ Milik (1976), 31. C.f. also Milik's earlier "Problemes de la Litterature Henochique a la Lumiere des Fragments Arameens de Qumran" in *HTR* 64 (1971), 349, where he also argues for the priority of 1 Enoch over Genesis.

⁵⁰⁰ Black (1985), 124-5.

⁵⁰¹ For example, c.f. Hanson (1977), 197; Nickelsburg (1977), 386.

absolved the angels of sin, there would be no need for such a change, especially one with a potentially blasphemous interpretation. All in all, the evidence appears to be clear in affirming the priority of Genesis.

1 Enoch 6:1, which is the beginning of the core stratum of 1 Enoch 6-11, introduces a narrative which utilises the sparse account of Genesis 6, inserting into its account the motifs of rebellion and angelic instruction which are essential for the polemical motive of the composer. The Genesis account of the pre-deluge union between the *sons of God* and the *daughters of men*, with its sparse account of the giants and *Nephilim*, provided an ideal basis for the composition of such a polemic.

1 Enoch 6:2

The narrator here departs from the text of Genesis 6, and continues the story in his own terms. The *sons of God* (בְּנֵי-הָאֱלֹהִים) of Genesis 6:2 are clearly defined by the Enochic narrator as being *the angels - the sons of heaven*. This identification is attested in both the Ethiopic (መላእክት ፤ ውሉደ ፤ ሰማያት) and CP (οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ). This differs from the Syriac (ܐܠܬܝܢ) and Syncellus (οἱ ἐγρήγοροι), which both use the specific term *the Watchers*.

The evidence afforded by the Aramaic fragments is disappointing at this point, rendering nothing concrete for this verse, although we note that

⁵⁰² James C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and other Second-Century Sources" in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1978), 229-251, 229 & 246 (fn. 4).

the term *Watchers* (עִירִיָא) is used elsewhere in the fragments⁵⁰³. Thus it is possible that this term was originally in the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 6:2.

We note, on the other hand, that Ethiopic has an equivalent term ሕወዓላ - *Watchers*, from the root ሕግሀ - *to be vigilant*. This term is used for the *Watchers* in 1 Enoch 10:7, 9 & 15. Thus there is no reason why the same term should not have been used in 1 Enoch 6:2, save that it was not the reading found in the *Vorlage*. This implies that the original reading was *the angels - the sons of heaven*.

This conclusion is reinforced by the observation that the description of *angels* as being *sons of heaven* occurs in another Aramaic text from Qumran which is closely related to the *Book of Enoch*. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGn) this phrase occurs three times:

1QapGn 2.4-5

... בעליא במרה רבותא במלך	by the most high, by the Great Lord,
... כול ע[למים] בני שמין	by the King of all A[ges ...] the sons
	of heaven ... ⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ Milik's identification of this fragment as being part of 1 Enoch 10:9 from 4QEn^b is by no means certain - c.f. Milik (1976), 175, 346, Plate VIII. C.f. the discussion of fragment 4QEn^b I iv x in §2.7

⁵⁰⁴ Fitzmyer renders this as *the sons of heavens*, but our identification of this term with the expression found in the Ethiopic and CP of 1 Enoch 6:2 is certainly legitimate - c.f. Fitzmyer (1971), 50-3.

In this reference, the *sons of heaven* are simply a group listed after a series of names for God in an oath. The next reference, however, is more illuminating:

1QapGn 2.16

ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול and not from any stranger, and not
עירין ולא מן כול בני שמ[ן] ... from any of the Watchers, and not
from any of the sons of hea[ven] ...⁵⁰⁵

In this sentence, Bitenosh, the wife of Lamech, pleads that her conception of Noah is due to Lamech, and not due to any of the *Watchers* or *sons of heaven* who have descended to the earth. Thus we have here a direct reference to the *Watchers* being *sons of heaven*⁵⁰⁶.

Thus we see that terminology such as *the sons of heaven* was being used in reference to the *sons of God/Watchers* in literature found at Qumran. What is of particular interest is that this terminology is used in a Noahic/Enochic context common with the chapters of the *Book of Enoch* under discussion⁵⁰⁷.

⁵⁰⁵ Fitzmyer's restoration here is most reliable - c.f. Fitzmyer (1971), 52-3.

⁵⁰⁶ Similarly, there is one further reference to the *sons of heaven* at 1QapGn 5.4 which, although incomplete, can be safely restored as Fitzmyer has suggested:

[לא מן בני] שמין להן מן למך ב[רך] ... [not from the sons of] heaven but from
Lamech [your] so[n] ...

C.f. Fitzmyer (1971), 54-5.

⁵⁰⁷ The phrase *sons of heaven* also occurs in 11Q13 in reference to the angels who, under Melchizedek/Michael, bring justice to the earth in the eschaton. It is interesting, in the light of what is said below about the Canaanite origins of the *sons of God* motif, that Psalm 82:1 is quoted in reference to Melchizedek and the *sons of heaven* in 11Q13. For a brief introduction and translation of 11Q13, c.f. Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 500-2.

It is possible that the phrase *the sons of God* from Genesis 6:2 was substituted with *the angels - sons of heaven* in 1 Enoch 6:2 in order to remove the potentially offensive divine connotation from the denoting of sinful beings. This was ably suggested by Lods⁵⁰⁸, and remains the best suggestion because the change from בני-האלהים to בני שמיין is the most likely to occur, preserving the form of the original phrase. The addition of the preceding *angels* then serves to remove any ambiguity regarding who is being referred to.

Black, however, translates this clause *And Watchers, children of heaven, saw them*⁵⁰⁹, which is rather bold considering such a reading is not attested in any of the versions. Black's combining of the *Watchers* from Syncellus and Michael with the *sons of heaven* from the Ethiopic and CP is very problematic, not least because it begs the question as to why the Ethiopic and CP would make the change from *Watchers* to *angels* when elsewhere they translate the term ܐܠܝܬܝܢ and οἱ ἐγρηγόροι (c.f. 1 Enoch 10:7, 9 & 15). Black states that *the angels - the sons of heaven* is a "free rendering of עיריין"⁵¹⁰, but this goes against the evidence discussed above.

This leaves the question as to why both Syncellus and Michael the Syrian chose to render this phrase differently, using specific terminology. It is likely, due to the similarities noted below, that the use of specific

⁵⁰⁸ Lods (1892), 104: ... et à leur enlever ce qu'ils avaient de choquant pour le judaïsme de l'époque grecque, si jaloux de la transcendance divine ...

⁵⁰⁹ Black (1985), 27-8.

⁵¹⁰ Black (1985), 116.

terminology relating to the *Watchers* derives from their common source, probably an earlier chronology (c.f. §2.2). Such a change, from *the angels - the sons of heaven* to *the Watchers*, is afforded by the purpose of such a chronology, which was not to provide a translation of the *Book of Enoch*, but to incorporate an account of a famous myth, the myth of the *Watchers*, into a world history⁵¹¹.

.....

The identification and origins of the *sons of God* (בני-האלהים) of Genesis 6:2 have long exercised scholars. Charles suggested that the myth is of Persian origin⁵¹², which was a reasonable assumption given the influence of Persian ideas upon Jewish thought during the post-exilic era⁵¹³. This conclusion has since been revised in the light of the discoveries made at *Ras Shamra*.

The *sons of God* (בני-האלהים) of Genesis 6:2 clearly correspond to the *bn . ilm* encountered in the Ugaritic myths concerning *Baal*⁵¹⁴. Referring to events leading up to his kingship, *Baal* recounts his humiliation within the divine assembly:

⁵¹¹ This myth was well known - it occurs in one way or another in many sources including 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the New Testament, Josephus and 2 Enoch. Thus it is quite natural for a chronicler to include it in an account of the history of the world.

⁵¹² Charles (1913), 191.

⁵¹³ For a recent discussion on various aspects of Persian influence upon Jewish thought, c.f. Shaul Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation* (London: SOAS, 1994).

⁵¹⁴ Emil G. Kraeling, "The Significance and Origin of Genesis 6:1-4" in *JNES*, VI, 4 (1947), 193-208, 197.

Thus this *congregation of El*, which is *in the midst of the gods*, corresponds to the divine assembly of the Ugaritic myths. It is the members of this assembly which are called *sons of God* (בְּנֵי-הָאֱלֹהִים) in both Genesis 6:2 & 4 and Job 1:6.

Kraeling, having identified the *sons of God* with the *bn . ilm* [𐎸𐎠𐎫 𐎠 𐎤𐎢𐎽𐎢] of the *Ras Shamra* texts, was left with the problem of how this group came to be used in Genesis 6:1-4. He highlighted the accounts, in both Philo of Biblos and Hesiod, of the cohabiting of goddesses with human men and the *godlike children* these unions produced. He suggested that this motif was incorporated into Hebrew mythology with three alterations essential to Yahwism:

- the gender of the goddesses was changed
- the promiscuous aspect was toned down with the use of the term *wives* for the partners of the angels
- the divine nature of the fornicators was removed

According to Kraeling, the purpose of this incorporation was to provide the rationale behind the deluge⁵²⁰. Whilst not agreeing with all of Kraeling's conclusions, we can regard the *sons of God* as belonging to ancient Canaanite lore, from which they were utilised in Genesis 6:1-4.

⁵²⁰ Kraeling (1947), 205-7. Kraeling's second and third alterations appear flawed: Regarding the second, the Hebrew נָשִׁים can mean *wives*, but it can also mean *women* and, hence, does not necessarily carry the moral tone Kraeling assumes. Regarding the third, the term *sons of God* (בְּנֵי-הָאֱלֹהִים) did not necessarily remove the divine connotation - as is demonstrated by its later exegesis.

Their use in Genesis 6:1-4 prompted much speculative writing, the like of which we read in 1 Enoch 6-11 and Jubilees 5. In such speculative writing, the *sons of God* were identified with angels from the earliest times, even though this identification was not necessarily originally intended⁵²¹. The identification of the *sons of God* as angels in 1 Enoch 6-11 constitutes the earliest example of this particular exegesis.

1 Enoch 6:3

It is in this verse that we first meet the character *Semyaza* - the chief of the angels who descend. The origin and meaning of this name is of great interest to our critical hypothesis. Charles suggested that the original was שמעזיי or שמהזאי, and compared him to the שמהזאי of Targum Jonathan on Genesis 6:4.⁵²² Charles' latter suggestion was confirmed by the Aramaic fragments from Qumran:

4QEn^a 1 iii c, line 6 שמהזאי ⁵²³

4QEn^a 1 iv f, line 1 שמי חזאי ⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ The present author has declined to summarise subsequent exegesis of this passage as this would be "reinventing the wheel" - c.f. the excellent paper by Philip S. Alexander, "The Targumim and Early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Genesis 6" in *JJS* 23 (1972), 60-71. In this paper, Alexander demonstrates how this interpretation was dominant for three centuries, and only first challenged by R. Simeon b. Yoḥai in the middle of the second century CE. C.f. also the brilliant paper by L. R. Wickham, "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Genesis VI 2 in Early Christian Exegesis" in *Oudtestamentische Studiën* XIX (1974), 135-147. Between Alexander and Wickham, the reader is furnished with a thorough summary of Jewish and early Christian exegesis of this passage.

⁵²² Charles (1913), 191. This was a remarkable observation considering the scarcity of evidence available at the time. Note, however, that Charles incorrectly cites the Targum Jonathan reference as Genesis 6:3.

⁵²³ Milik (1976), 150, 341, Plate III.

⁵²⁴ Milik (1976), 157, 342, Plate IV.

Milik suggested that שְׁמִיחִיָּה means *My Name has seen*⁵²⁵. Knibb suggested that it could mean *he sees the name*⁵²⁶. Black made an important contribution to our understanding of this name by noting that there was probably a difference between the original meaning of the name and its later use in Jewish literature. Black suggested that the name originally meant *Šem seeth*, and was adopted into later Jewish literature as *the Name (God) seeth*⁵²⁷.

The first element of this name, *Šem*, probably refers to an ancient Near Eastern deity. Gelb asserted that the element *šum* in Amorite personal names designated a deity, and the element *šm* also occurs in Ugaritic and Phoenician personal names. Noth explained the latter phenomenon as referring to the Phoenician deity *Esmun*. Furthermore, *šu-um* is equated with *Dumuzi* in the bilingual lexical texts from Ebla⁵²⁸.

Thus it is likely that the name is of non-Jewish origin, with the first element either being a divine name or a generic replacement for the deity.

⁵²⁵ Milik (1976), 152. Milik elsewhere highlights other occurrences of this character in a *Watcher* context: In the *Book of Giants* attested in the Qumran fragments - c.f. p. 315; in a magic bowl published by Montgomery in *JAOS* 32 (1912) - c.f. p. 299; and in Bodleian Hebrew ms d. 11, dated from the 14th century - c.f. p. 321-2. Also, W. B. Henning translated a Sogdian text which tells of the angel *Šahmîzâd*, identified by Henning with שְׁמִיחִיָּה - c.f. W. B. Henning, *The Book of Giants* in *BSOAS* 11 (1943-6), 52-74.

⁵²⁶ Knibb (1978), 67-8. This suggestion is extremely unlikely because such a name makes no sense, whilst Black's suggestion both makes sense and, as shall be demonstrated, fits in with the intended polemic of the Enochic author.

⁵²⁷ Black (1985), 119.

⁵²⁸ For a summary of the evidence, c.f. the article "Shem" by Becking in *DDDB*, 1443-5. For the Amorite personal names, c.f. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite* (Chicago: 1980), 82. For the Ugaritic personal names, c.f. F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome: 1965), 31. For the Phoenician personal names, c.f. F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome: 1972, 419). For the Ebla tablets, c.f. C. H. Gordon, "Notes on Proper Names in the Ebla Tablets" in A. Archi, ed., *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-giving* (Rome: 1988), 153-8. For the identification with *Esmun*, c.f. M. Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: 1928), 123-8.

Hence Black's suggestion that it originally meant *Šem seeth* is certainly possible. It is also possible, however, that the second component has also been reinterpreted and that it originally meant something other than the masculine singular active participle of the verb **הוּא** - to see.

In ancient Near Eastern mythology, particularly in northern Syria, the mountain *Hazzi*, probably the modern day *Jebel al-Aqra'*, was venerated as a divine abode in Hurrian and Hittite traditions⁵²⁹. This tradition continued into Ugaritic mythology, in which the mountain was called *Zaphon* (**𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺**). It is in this context that one understands the following reference in Psalm 48:3b -

הר-ציון ירבתי צפון	Mount Zion, the remote parts of Zaphon,
קרית מלך רב :	the city of the great king.

In the Ugaritic traditions, one epithet for *Baal* is *Baal Zaphon* (**𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺**) - "Baal of Mount Zaphon"⁵³⁰. It is possible that the name **שמיחיה**, as attested in the Qumran fragments, and **שמיחזאי**, as attested in

⁵²⁹ For a summary of the main sources for Mount Hazzi, c.f. the article "Zaphon" by H. Niehr in *DDDB*, 1746-50. For the initial identification of Zaphon/Hazzi with *Jebel al-Aqra'*, and an account of how these traditions continued into classical and Israelite mythology, c.f. O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (Halle: 1932). For the Hurrian and Hittite traditions, c.f. M. Dijkstra, "The Weather-God on Two Mountains" in *UF* 23 (1991), 127-40; V. Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen* (Mainz: 1982), 115-124. For Akkadian sources, c.f. W. Röllig, "Hazzi" in *RLA* 4 (1972-1975), 241-2.

⁵³⁰ Gordon (1965), 475. It is worth noting, at this point, text 17 in Gordon's *Ugaritic Textbook* which is a list of deities - c.f. pp. 163-4. In this list, the *Il Zaphon* (**𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺**) is mentioned in line 13, and the *ph r ilm* (**𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎷𐎺**) is mentioned in line 7 - c.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 6:2 above for our previous discussion of the *ph r ilm*.

Targum Jonathan, was originally *Šem Hazzi*, a north Syrian divine name equivalent to *Baal Zaphon*.

This *Šem Hazzi*, meaning “Šem of Mount Hazzi”, was then adopted into the core narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11, with the second element being reinterpreted as the masculine singular active participle of the verb שׂוּם - to see. This particular name was probably used for the leader of the angels because it contained the toponym *Hazzi* which, corresponding to Mount Hermon, is where the angels descended (c.f. §1.4.2).

The nature of the reinterpretation, with the geographical name *Hazzi* being understood as *he sees*, betrays the purpose of the composer of 1 Enoch 6-11. It was suggested in §1.7 that the purpose of this narrative is to present a polemic against divination. The name *Šem Hazzi*, with its potential for reading-in the aspect of seeing/discerning/deciding, was well suited to this purpose. It also made a suitable name for the leader of the *Watchers* - those who watch for omens.

.....

It is clear in this verse that the angels are descending with the intention of committing a crime punishable by the Most High. Thus there is no attempt to remove any hint of blame from the angels. Indeed the angels are the cause of the evils which afflict the earth.

As this myth develops in later sources, the trend is to attempt to absolve the angels of blame and impute humanity with the guilt of bringing evil to the earth. We observe three stages in the development of this myth⁵³¹:

Stage One	e.g. 1 Enoch 6-11	Blame ascribed to angels who descend to earth with sinful intent.
Stage Two	e.g. Jubilees 4:15 & 5:1 Syncellus' version of 1 Enoch 8:1 etc.	Angels descend to earth in order to instruct humanity in justice and righteousness, but are seduced by the beauty of the human women.
Stage Three	e.g. Julius Africanus	This 3 rd century CE source asserted that the בני-האלהים were the <i>sons of Seth</i> and that the בנות האדם were the <i>daughters of Cain</i> , thus removing the angelic element from the narrative altogether.

1 Enoch 6:5

It is in this verse that we are able to grasp the meaning of the second action performed by the angels. In the Aramaic version, the verb used is **ואחרם**, the causative of the root **חרם** - *to dedicate, devote, cut off* etc. As the same root is used in both verses four and five in all the other versions, we assume with

⁵³¹ These stages are discussed in more detail in John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), 185-9 & 199 (notes 2-3). For the possible Jewish origins of the particular exegesis given above as Stage Three, c.f. G. A. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 126-34. For its use in Christian sources, c.f. A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 41-80. C.f. also the notes to 1 Enoch 8:1.

Black⁵³² that this was also the verb used in the Aramaic of verse four. So what exactly did the angels promise to do in order to appease *Semyaza*?

Black translates this verb as *to bind with imprecations*⁵³³, and this understanding certainly underlies the Greek (ἀναθεματίζω) and the Ethiopic (አውገዝ) versions. It is possible, however, that the original sense differed from its later interpretation. In the context of the *Watchers* choosing to leave behind their status and position in the heavens in order to descend to the earth, it could be that the angels are in fact swearing an oath to *Semyaza* that they will indeed cut themselves off, or excommunicate themselves, from their heavenly status and share his punishment with him.

This would bring to the reader's mind the idea that excommunication is the punishment for transgressing and partaking in the particular evils the author is composing a polemic against. This appears to be how the translator of the Karshuni version understood this verb – c.f. §2.6. Thus the dialogue between *Semyaza* and his angels is designed to warn of the dire consequences of practising the mantic arts - an irreversible separation from God and the loss of the status one originally had before him.

1 Enoch 6:6

It was chiefly on the basis of this verse that Hallévi hypothesised, long before the discovery of the Qumran fragments, that the original language of the

⁵³² Black (1985), 116.

⁵³³ Black (1985), 116-7.

Book of Enoch was Hebrew. He did this on the basis of the two puns in this verse which do not work in Greek⁵³⁴.

From the Aramaic, we are certain that the first pun was the statement that the angels descended **בְּיָמֵי יָרֵד** - *in the days of Jared* (root **יָרֵד** - *to descend*). The second pun in this verse is the statement that *Mount 'Armon*, i.e. Mount Hermon (**חֶרְמוֹן**), was so called because it was the site where the angels cut themselves off (**אֶחְרָמוֹ**) from their heavenly abode.

Knibb asserts that the absence of the root **יָרֵד** in Aramaic implies that the first pun presupposes the use of Hebrew, and that such a use of Hebrew in an Aramaic composition “would not be unusual”⁵³⁵. It may be more accurate to speak of the use of an Hebraism which was integrated into Qumran Aramaic than simply the use of an Hebrew lexeme, as it appears that both Hebrew and Aramaic existed side by side at Qumran, and bore no insignificant influence upon each other⁵³⁶.

⁵³⁴ Hallévy, “Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d’Énoch” in *JA* (1867), 352-395 - cited from Charles (1893), 13. Charles also accepted that the original language of the *Book of Enoch* was Hebrew.

⁵³⁵ Knibb (1978), 68-9. The existence within an Aramaic text of a pun which only works in Hebrew has caused a certain consternation to various scholars. Milik suggested that this use of Hebrew was deliberate, assuming that future readers would be able to understand Hebrew etymologies. According to Milik, such puns cannot be used as evidence for an Hebrew version of the *Book of Enoch* - c.f. Milik (1976), 214. Whilst agreeing with Milik on the use of Hebrew etymologies, Black still concluded on the basis of this pun, that “the possibility of a Hebrew as well as an Aramaic *Book of Enoch* cannot, however, be ruled out altogether” - c.f. Black (1985), 117.

⁵³⁶ C.f. S. E. Fassberg, “Hebraisms in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran” in Takamitsu Muraoka, ed., *Abr-Nahrain - Supplement 3, Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 48-69. In this excellent article, Fassberg addresses certain methodological issues concerning enquiries into Hebrew influence on Aramaic and *vice versa* in the Qumran literature. Fassberg also identifies a number of certain Hebraisms in the Aramaic text of *Enoch* - c.f. Fassberg (1992), 68.

It is not necessary, however, to assert that this verse made use of such an Hebraism in order to establish the existence of the pun. This pun occurs elsewhere and was probably well established as a literary monument. The most important example of this, for our present enquiry, is found in *Jubilees* 4:15, which states:

... and he called him Jared; and in his days the angels of the Lord
(those who were called Watchers) came down to earth ...⁵³⁷

It is now clear from the Qumran fragments that the original language of *Jubilees* was Hebrew⁵³⁸, so we have in this verse a clear example of this pun which was most probably known in Hebrew.

Thus it is likely that the motif of the descent of the angels in the days of Jared was a well known literary device, based upon the closeness of the genealogy of Noah with the Genesis 6 narrative, which was subsequently utilised by later works such as *Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Its use in *Enoch* may not have involved the use of an Hebraism, but the pun still would have been readily understandable to its readers.

.....

It appears that in 1 Enoch 6:6 the writer is making an allusion to the rebellion of Absalom against David as found in 2 Samuel 15:7-12. In the narrative of

⁵³⁷ Quoted from Rabin's revision of Charles' translation as found in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 22. Charles' translation was based upon the Ethiopic version in which the book is most fully preserved.

Absalom's rebellion against David, Absalom and a band of two hundred men depart from Jerusalem and install themselves in *Hebron*. This is closely paralleled in the account of angelic rebellion of 1 Enoch 6 in which *Semyaza* and a band of two hundred angels depart from heaven and install themselves at *Hermon*. Moreover, *Hebron* (חברון) is not too dissimilar from *Hermon* (חרמון).⁵³⁹

Certain later Jewish traditions concerning Absalom also parallel *Semyaza* closely, and it is possible that these grew out of a literary tradition which equated these two rebels.⁵⁴⁰ Three such parallels are:

- Absalom's giant size - a possible hint of the giant progeny of *Semyaza* and his angels.⁵⁴¹
- Absalom's children were slain before their father as part of Absalom's punishment - parallels the slaying of the giants before their angelic fathers as part of their punishment.⁵⁴²
- Ahithophel, grandfather of Bathsheba and one of the participators in Absalom's rebellion, was originally a supernaturally empowered advisor to David. His lack of piety combined with his astrological endeavours, however, caused him to join Absalom.

⁵³⁸ For an introduction to the Qumran *Jubilees* fragments, and a translation, c.f. Vermes (1997), 507-10.

⁵³⁹ Note the mantic connotation of the Aramaic חבַר - *charmer*, and the use of the mountain בעל חרמון in Judges 3:3 and 1 Chronicles 5:23. In Judges 3:3, it is the location of the enemies of Israel who remain to test their resolve and faithfulness to יהוה. In 1 Chronicles 5:23 it is grouped with mount Hermon.

⁵⁴⁰ The following data on Absalom is taken from Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*² - trans. Henrietta Szold (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941).

⁵⁴¹ Ginzberg (1941), IV, 104.

This parallels the angels who were also supernatural members of the Most High's court but, through lack of piety, joined the angelic rebellion against their ruler. The connection of the rebellion with astrology is also significant as it is one of the skills taught by the angels to mankind.⁵⁴³

The use of the account of Absalom's rebellion by the Enochic narrator achieves three objectives - the first two by comparison and the third by contrast. Firstly, the actions of the angels are identified with the actions of Absalom, the once privileged son of David whose rebellion is all the more serious on account of the greatness of the one rebelled against. This enforces the polemic the author is attempting to construct, the point being that engaging in the mantic arts is rebellion, akin in gravity and punishment to the rebellion of Absalom. Such use of the Absalom account in relation to divination is quite understandable in the light of 1 Samuel 15:23 which states that *"rebellion is the sin of witchcraft"*.

Secondly, the departure of the rebels in each story represents the abandoning of a special location or status - in Absalom's case it was Jerusalem whilst in Semyaza's case it was heaven. Thus the point is made that in practising the mantic arts, one loses the special status hitherto enjoyed.

⁵⁴² Ginzberg (1941), IV, 107.

⁵⁴³ Ginzberg (1941), IV, 94-5.

Thirdly, the contrary accounts of the two hundred followers makes a rather subtle point. In 2 Samuel 15:11, it is suggested that the two hundred men who followed Absalom were ignorant of the rebellious plans of their leader - yet they still perished with him in 2 Samuel 18. On the other hand, in 1 Enoch 6, the two hundred followers of Semyaza are fully aware of the implications of their actions. The point of the author would appear to be that those practising the mantic arts are fully aware of the gravity of their sin, and should not be surprised at the punishment they receive.

.....

Thus we have in this verse two examples of the author using established literary monuments in the composition of his polemic. The use of both the established pun concerning the descent of the angels in the days of Jared and the account of Absalom's rebellion demonstrates that the author was well versed in Biblical and contemporary literature, and able to integrate established narratives and motifs into the polemic he was constructing.

1 Enoch 6:7

According to 1 Enoch 6:6, the number of angels who follow Semyaza and descend onto Mount Hermon is two hundred. This is different to 1 Enoch 6:7, which enumerates twenty *dekadarchs* or leaders of tens. As each of these *dekadarchs* would have ten angels under their command, we have the following discrepancy:

1 Enoch 6:1-6

Semyaza

200 followers

TOTAL = 201 angels

1 Enoch 6:7

Semyaza

20 leaders of ten

200 followers

TOTAL = 221 angels

It appears that, contrary to conclusions reached in previous critical analyses, 1 Enoch 6:7 is not part of the original narrative but a secondary element, perhaps attributable to the earliest revision of the core narrative⁵⁴⁴.

As was discussed in §1.3, one of the key revisions was the addition of the Angelic Instruction stratum, which lists certain skills taught to humanity by the angels and the particular angel who taught each skill.⁵⁴⁵ The addition of verse seven, with its enumeration of the twenty angel *dekadarchs*, enables the reviser to insert the Angelic Instruction motif as it now stands at 1 Enoch 8:1-3. Thus it appears that 1 Enoch 6:7 belongs to the same stratum as 1 Enoch 8:1-3.

In view of the conclusions reached above, the development of this narrative may have occurred as follows:

⁵⁴⁴ Hanson, Nickelsburg and Dimant all agree in treating 1 Enoch 6:7 as part of the same stratum as 1 Enoch 6:1-6 - c.f. Hanson (1977), 197; Nickelsburg (1977), 384-6; Dimant (1978), 323-6. The simple numerical discrepancy observed above was apparently unnoticed.

⁵⁴⁵ C.f. §1.3 for more on the Angelic Instruction revision.

<u>Stage One</u>	First Stratum (1 Enoch 6:1-6)	+	<i>"And Semyaza was their ruler"</i>
<u>Stage Two</u>	First Stratum (1 Enoch 6:1-6)	+	Second Stratum (1 Enoch 6:7)

1 Enoch 6:8

Following the hypothesis presented in the commentary on the previous verse, this verse is not part of the original narrative but belongs to the same stratum as 1 Enoch 6:7.

Summary of 1 Enoch 6

The following table illustrates the current state of our critical hypothesis:

<u>Stratum One</u> - 1 Enoch 6:1-6 (+ <i>And Semyaza was their ruler</i>)	<u>Stratum Two</u> - 1 Enoch 6:7-8
Based upon Gen. 6 and 2 Sam. 15	List of angel dekadarchs to facilitate angelic instruction motif in chapter 8

We have seen how the narrator utilises the sparse account of Genesis 6 and adds the aspect of rebellion using the Absalom narrative of 2 Samuel 15. We have also noted the numerical discrepancy between 1 Enoch 6:1-6 and 1 Enoch 6:7-8, and concluded that this discrepancy is the result of a revision

which introduces the angelic personalities necessary for the motif of angelic instruction which occurs in 1 Enoch 8.

1 Enoch 7:1

This verse belongs to the core stratum of the narrative and, in keeping with the core stratum's dependence upon Genesis 6:1-4, it borrows from Genesis 6:2b⁵⁴⁶.

MT of Gen. 6:2b	: ... ויקחו להם נשים מכל אשר בחרו
Targum Onkelos of Gen. 6:2b	: ... ונסיבו להון נשין מכל די אתרעיאו
Targum Jonathan of Gen. 6:2b	: ... ונסיבו להון נשין מכל דאתרעיו
4QEn ^a	... נשין מן כל די בחרו ... ⁵⁴⁷
4QEn ^b	... נשין מן כונל ... ⁵⁴⁸

From the above table, it appears that in this verse the Enochic narrator borrowed directly from the Hebrew text of Genesis 6:2b. Thus it appears that the Enochic narrator made use of both Hebrew and Aramaic sources⁵⁴⁹.

Thus the composer of the core stratum, after introducing the aspect of rebellion with an allusion to the Absalom narrative, returns to the Genesis narrative and defines the nature of this rebellion. The twin characteristics of

⁵⁴⁶ This was first noted by Milik (1971), 349.

⁵⁴⁷ C.f. Milik (1976), 150-1, 342 & Plate III.

⁵⁴⁸ C.f. Milik (1976), 166-7, 344 & Plate VI.

⁵⁴⁹ C.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 6:1.

this rebellion are sexual impurity and divination. The coupling of divination with sexual impurity serves the polemical purpose of the narrator, underlining the message that divination, previously equated with the sin of rebellion⁵⁵⁰, is as wicked as sexual immorality.⁵⁵¹

1 Enoch 7:2

This verse should be considered as part of the core stratum of the narrative. It continues the polemical line already established, and the *giants* are also attested in the LXX of Genesis 6:4 which translates הנפלים as οἱ γίγαντες.

It is in this verse that the narrator turns from describing the rebellion of the angels, an allegory for the practice of divination, and begins to narrate the destructive consequences of this rebellion. The message conveyed by this verse is simple enough - the size of the giants illustrates the enormity of the consequences.

1 Enoch 7:3

The message of this verse, in the context of the author's polemic, is that practising divination will result in the destruction of all that one has

⁵⁵⁰ C.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 6:6.

⁵⁵¹ Both Nickelsburg and Molenberg assert that the final sentence of this verse, which concerns the teaching of magic and medicine to the wives of the angels, belongs to the Angelic Instruction stratum - c.f. Nickelsburg (1977) 384 & Molenberg (1984), 137. The present author, however, considers this too speculative. The insertion of 1 Enoch 6:7-8 and 1 Enoch 8:1-3 is beyond doubt as the sense of the narrative in both cases is disturbed. In the case of the latter clause of 1 Enoch 7:1, however, the teaching of magic and medicine does not disrupt the narrative and is crucial for the polemic of the author to be understood. This

accomplished and hoped to gain through illicit means. Furthermore, the one who punishes is not satisfied by this alone, but has a worse penalty to exact.

1 Enoch 7:4

The use in the Aramaic of the root קשר⁵⁵² was probably intended as a prelude to the punishment inflicted upon the giants. The justification for their destruction, on behalf of the sins of their parents, is given - they were themselves all united with one purpose to destroy mankind.

The interpretation of this verse, in the context of the narrator's polemic, is that the destructive consequences of divination are not limited to the fruits of one's labour (verse three) but also effect one's own life.

1 Enoch 7:5

This verse demonstrates that the destructive consequences of practising divination reach beyond the guilty person whose actions incurred such a punishment. The account of the destruction of nature is intended to illustrate that the practise of divination also releases destructive consequences upon innocent parties. The heinous nature of those released

sentence is probably part of the core stratum and may have inspired the addition of the Angelic Instruction stratum.

⁵⁵² C.f. the notes to 1 Enoch 7:4.

by divination to wreak havoc on the innocent is further illustrated by their cannibalistic and vampiric tendencies.⁵⁵³

The eating of flesh and drinking of blood is attested in later magical literature, especially in the incantation bowls from Mesopotamia. For example, line 8 of Israel Museum no. 80.1.3 reads:

פולי עלוהי איבולי מן בשריה ואשתאי מן דמיה דחלי ומררי

Fall upon him, eat from his flesh, drink from his blood, frighten and afflict.⁵⁵⁴

It is possible that such traditions predate late antiquity, and that the narrator of the Enoch narrative has used a common magical motif in the construction of his polemic.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Charles asserts that this represents one class of giant destroying another - c.f. Charles (1913), 192. This conclusion was based upon the enumeration of three classes of giants in the text of Syncellus (see *Additional note on Syncellus' version of 1 Enoch 7* above), which Charles supposed to be original rather than an external element introduced by Syncellus - possibly from *Jubilees*.

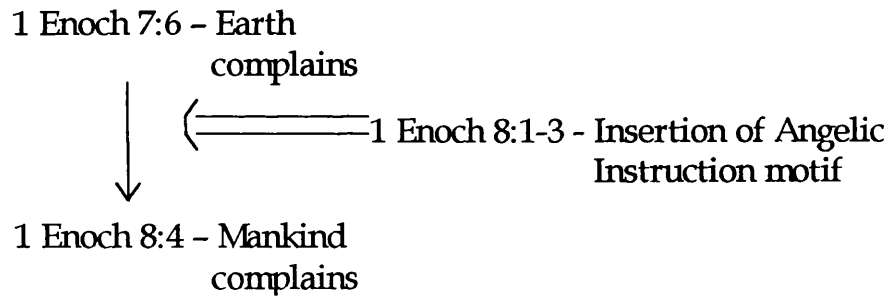
⁵⁵⁴ Text and translation taken from Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* ² (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1987), 168-73, Plate 23.

⁵⁵⁵ It is also possible that such traditions led to the church fathers teaching the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist. For example, Ignatius (Bishop of Antioch, martyred c. 107 CE) wrote against Docetism saying that "they abstain from Eucharist and prayer because they allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ ..." - c.f. *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*, vii. The apologist Justin (martyred 167 CE) wrote that "we receive these not as common bread or common drink but, as Jesus Christ our saviour ... possessed both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we were taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been made ... is the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus" - c.f. *Apologia* I, 66.

1 Enoch 7:6

This verse turns from describing the actions of the giants, and begins an account of the response of the victims of the giants starting with the complaint of the earth. This account is interrupted by what follows in 1 Enoch 8:1-3, which details the skills taught to humanity by the angels, and resumes once more in 1 Enoch 8:4, which describes the lament of mankind.

Insertion of Angelic Instruction motif



Thus it is likely that 1 Enoch 7:6 originally led straight into 1 Enoch 8:4.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ C.f. Nickelsburg (1977), 384; Molenberg (1984), 137.

Summary of 1 Enoch 6-7

The following chart illustrates the current state of our critical hypothesis:

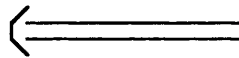
1 Enoch 6:1-6

Based upon Genesis 6:1-4 and the Absalom narrative, these verses describe the angelic rebellion.



1 Enoch 6:7-8

Inserted to enable incorporation of Angelic Instruction stratum.



1 Enoch 7:1-6

Again based upon Genesis 6:1-4, these verses show the nature of the rebellion and the consequences of this rebellion for the earth and its inhabitants.

We noted further that the final sentence of 1 Enoch 7:1 was possibly the inspiration behind the addition of the Angelic Instruction stratum to the core narrative.

.....

1 Enoch 7:3-5 present an interesting sequence of events:

- mankind's toil destroyed by the giants

- the giants turn in order to consume mankind and all flesh
- finally the giants start to consume themselves⁵⁵⁷

Thus the narrator has purposefully deviated from the Genesis deluge account, ascribing the destruction of humanity and the inhabitants of the earth to the giants rather than the flood. This observation raises two problems: Firstly, if the flood is not sent to destroy all flesh from the earth (c.f. Genesis 6:7; Jubilees 5:4), what is its purpose? This question is discussed in length in the commentary to chapter ten.

Secondly, what are the origins of the extra-Biblical motif used by the narrator, in which mankind is almost wiped out by the giants? This is a unique exposition amongst the Jewish works of this period and, if original to the *Book of Watchers*, represents a major shift in the traditional exposition of the flood narrative.

One possible ancient Near Eastern parallel is the myth of *Erra*.⁵⁵⁸ Composed in Akkadian, possibly in the eighth century BC,⁵⁵⁹ this myth tells how *Erra*, the warrior of the gods, sets out to demonstrate his glory. This is accomplished by performing extreme acts of violence against the inhabitants

⁵⁵⁷ The giants obviously do not get very far in their self-annihilation as described in 1 Enoch 7:5, as the process is resumed as their punishment in 1 Enoch 10:9 & 12. Thus it appears that the final sentence of 1 Enoch 7:5 is not intended to describe the punishment of the giants as it occurs in 1 Enoch 10:9 & 12. Rather it describes their behaviour which, ironically, forms the basis for their subsequent punishment - in other words, the giants' own nature, which caused them to turn and devour each other, was used in their punishment which saw them sent out against each other in battle.

⁵⁵⁸ The following information is taken from Benjamin R. Foster, *From Distant Days – Myths, Tales and Poetry of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Bethesda: 1995), 132-163.

of the earth – specifically against the inhabitants of Sumer. To aid *Erra* in his destructive plan, seven divine warriors are enlisted. These *Seven* are the product of a union between *Anu* and the earth.⁵⁶⁰

Thus there is a parallel with the *giants* of the Enochic narrative, who are also the products of a union between the two realms of heaven and earth. The orgy of destruction carried out by *Erra* and the *Seven* also parallels the activities of the *giants*, with both the human and animal inhabitants of the earth being laid waste.⁵⁶¹ The cry of the devastated humanity ascends to the gods, paralleling the cry in 1 Enoch 8:4:

II, 124 *The black-headed folk cry out to you,*
*But do not accept their entreaties.*⁵⁶²

There are three further points of contact between the myth of *Erra* and 1 Enoch 6-11 which merit a closer analysis. Firstly, it appears that *Erra* was responsible for teaching the manufacture and use of weaponry to humanity. Thus in IV 7-9, we read:

He who knew nothing of weapons – his sword was drawn
He who knew nothing of archery – his bow was taut
*He who knew nothing of fighting – set to the fray*⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ Foster (1995), 132.

⁵⁶⁰ I, 29-30. C.f. Foster (1995), 134.

⁵⁶¹ II, 125-132. C.f. Foster (1995), 134.

⁵⁶² C.f. Foster (1995), 147.

⁵⁶³ C.f. Foster (1995), 153.

This appears to correspond to the introduction of violence and weaponry which accompanied the descent of the *Watchers*.

Secondly, the actions of *Erra* and the *Seven* display the aspect of rebellion which was a key factor in the *Watcher* narrative. In the case of *Erra*, his mission of destruction demands the removal of *Marduk*, the head of the pantheon, from his palace and the ensuing cosmic upheaval.⁵⁶⁴

Thirdly, an explicit identification with the Babylonian flood myth is made in the excuse given by the *Seven* for their actions against humanity:

*The Anunna-gods cannot fall asleep for the clamour of mankind*⁵⁶⁵

Thus in the myth of *Erra*, it is the *Seven* rather than the flood which threatens humanity. The same is true for 1 Enoch 6-11 in which it is the *giants* rather than the flood which almost wipes out mankind.

1 Enoch 8:1

The Aramaic fragments appear to specify the metals with which the weapons and decorations were made:⁵⁶⁶

[עבד חרבנן די פרזול] to] make swords of iron[

ובספא לצמידין] and silver for bracelets[

⁵⁶⁴ C.f. Foster (1995), 137-42.

⁵⁶⁵ I, 83. C.f. Foster (1995), 136.

⁵⁶⁶ C.f. Milik (1976), 167-8, 345 & Plate VII.

The reference to making swords out of iron is of particular interest as a sword made of iron is inferior to one made of bronze. This is unacceptable as it is unlikely that such an inferior product would be attributed to Azael. Thus the reference to *swords of iron* is probably to iron which has been carburized resulting in the strengthening of the outer shell of the sword. A possible carburization site from the 7th - 6th centuries BCE has been discovered in the land of Israel.⁵⁶⁷

.....

As has already been stated, this verse interrupts the flow of the narrative, inserting the character *Azael* and his illicit teachings between the cry of the earth in 1 Enoch 7:6 and the cry of mankind in 1 Enoch 8:4. Thus we consider this verse to be a secondary element and not part of the core stratum. The question of which stratum this verse belongs to is considered in the Summary of 1 Enoch 6-8.

1 Enoch 8:2

This verse describes the consequences of the teachings of *Azael*. The giving of jewellery and make-up to human women results in fornication and the corruption of humanity. Thus this verse probably belongs to the same stratum as 1 Enoch 8:1.

⁵⁶⁷ Beno Rothenburg & Ronnie F. Tylecote, "A Unique Assyrian Iron Smithy in the Northern Negev (Israel)" in *IAMS* 17 (1991), 11-14.

Syncellus, however, would reverse the original sense of the narrative and posit the blame for the corruption of the angels with the human women.

1 Enoch 8:3

The differences between this verse and the previous two have already led Dimant to assert that they are from different strata.⁵⁶⁸ The contrast between the mantic instruction by many angels, in 1 Enoch 8:3, and the giving of weaponry and beautifying techniques by one angel, in 1 Enoch 8:1, caused Dimant to distinguish correctly between two different strata in these verses.⁵⁶⁹

The mantic nature of the skills taught suggests that this verse is closer to the core stratum than 1 Enoch 8:1-2. This is discussed further in the Summary of 1 Enoch 6-8.

1 Enoch 8:4

This verse continues from where the narrative left off in 1 Enoch 7:6, with the lament of mankind following the lament of the earth. Thus we consider this verse to be part of the core narrative.

⁵⁶⁸ Dimant (1978), 323-4.

⁵⁶⁹ Some of Dimant's other conclusions are in need of revision. For example, Dimant asserts (p. 323) that the whole of chapter 8 interrupts the logical sequence from chapters 7-9, but this is not the case as the lament of mankind in 1 Enoch 8:4 follows on well from the lament of the earth in 1 Enoch 7:6. Later on (p. 324), however, Dimant does group 1 Enoch 8:3-4 as belonging to the same stratum as chapters 6-7.

Summary of 1 Enoch 6-8

The following chart illustrates the current state of our critical hypothesis:

CORE STRATUM

FIRST REVISION

SECOND REVISION

1 Enoch 6:1-6

Based upon Genesis 6:1-4 and the Absalom narrative, these verses describe the angelic rebellion.

1 Enoch 6:7-8

Inserted to enable incorporation of Angelic Instruction stratum.

1 Enoch 7:1-6

Again based upon Genesis 6:1-4, these verses show the nature of the rebellion and the consequences of this rebellion for the earth and its inhabitants.

1 Enoch 8:1-2

Azael's instruction in metalwork for weaponry and beautifying techniques.

1 Enoch 8:3

Angelic instruction in the mantic arts.

1 Enoch 8:4

The cry of humanity follows the cry of the earth in 1 Enoch 7:6.

The core stratum, as identified in the previous chapters, continues well from 1 Enoch 7:6 into 1 Enoch 8:4. The narrative is interrupted in 1 Enoch 8:3, however, by the list of mantic arts taught by the angels previously mentioned in 1 Enoch 6:7. Thus it is likely that both 1 Enoch 6:7-8 and 1 Enoch 8:3 belong to the same stratum. There are two possibilities for the

purpose of this revision. It would serve either to strengthen the intended anti-divination polemic, or it would serve to add this polemical aspect to the narrative. Which particular scenario one accepts depends upon how the last sentence in 1 Enoch 7:1 is understood.⁵⁷⁰ If one follows Nickelsburg and Molenberg in asserting that this sentence is also part of the second stratum, then the purpose of this revision would be to add the anti-divination aspect to the narrative. This scenario is problematic in that it would render obsolete the core stratum, with its skilful interweaving of the Genesis 6 and Absalom narratives. If one accepts, however, that the last sentence in 1 Enoch 7:1 is part of the core narrative, then the first revision would serve to strengthen the polemical purpose of the core stratum.

The second revision serves to widen the scope of the polemic, introducing attacks on the evils of weaponry and beautifying techniques which result in suffering and fornication.⁵⁷¹ According to Molenberg's line of argument, this revision would "reflect changing notions of sin within some parts of the Jewish community, probably in the third century BCE".⁵⁷² Whether they are indeed *changing notions*, or just well-established ideas being added to the narrative, remains to be seen. It is certainly possible that, implicit in the addition of weaponry to divination in the list of condemned

⁵⁷⁰ C.f. footnote 551.

⁵⁷¹ Similar ideas occur in the New Testament: C.f. Matthew 26:52 against weapons and warfare; 1 Peter 3:3 against various beautifying techniques.

⁵⁷² Molenberg (1984), 146.

arts, there is a warning against those who would take up arms against the Seleucids.

1 Enoch 9:1

The use in the Aramaic of the nouns דם and חמסה - *blood* and *violence*, is most interesting. It recalls the following phrase which occurs twice in the book of Habakkuk:⁵⁷³

... מדמי אדם וחמס-ארץ ...

... because of the blood of man and the violence of the earth ...

This phrase from Habakkuk describes well the situation upon the earth as a result of the birth of the giants. It is possible that this did not escape the attention of the narrator who may have drawn upon yet another Biblical passage in the construction of his polemic.

The exposition of this phrase in the Qumran commentary to Habakkuk reveals a strong expositional tradition. In 1QpHab, Habakkuk 2:8 reads:⁵⁷⁴

(8) Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of peoples will despoil you, because of the blood of

⁵⁷³ Habakkuk 2:8 & 17.

⁵⁷⁴ The *editio princeps* of 1QpHab is Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* - Vol. 1 *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: ASOR, 1950).

man and the violence of the earth, the city and all its inhabitants.⁵⁷⁵

The commentary offered in the Qumran text relates this to the *wicked priest*, the enemy of *the teacher of righteousness*, and the corrupt priesthood in Jerusalem. The actions of the *wicked priest* are described in the commentary to the previous verses:

“Will not suddenly your creditors arise and your agitators awake? And you will be for a despoiling to them. Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of peoples [will despoil you” - the interpretation of the matter is ab]out the priest who rebelled ... ⁵⁷⁶

Thus the Qumran community's exposition of Habakkuk 2:7-8 is based upon the idea that the violence of the earth (חַמַּם-אֶרֶץ) and blood of man (דַּמִּי אָדָם) resulted from rebellion. This idea is completely absent in Habakkuk 2, which deals with the Babylonians being used by the LORD to execute judgement upon the nation of Judah.

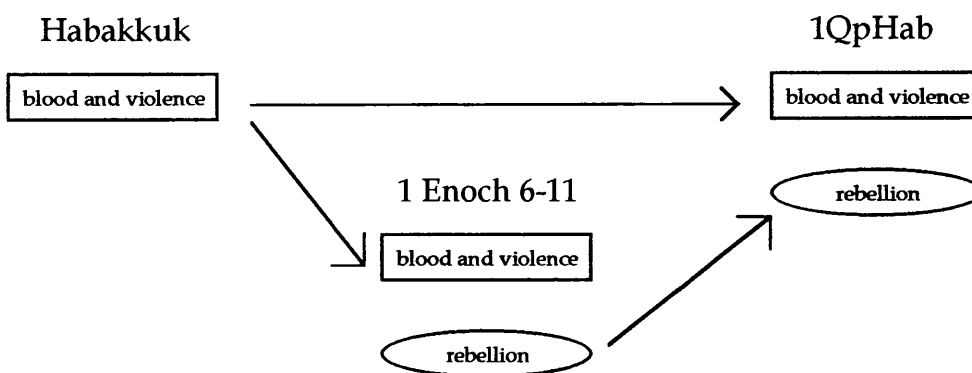
⁵⁷⁵ Quotations from 1QpHab are the present author's translation of the Hebrew text - for the text, c.f. Burrows (1950), Plate LIX.

⁵⁷⁶ C.f. Burrows (1950), Plate LVIII. The restorations made in this section are virtually certain.

The Qumran commentary identifies the Babylonians of Habakkuk 2 with the *wicked priest* and the corrupt Jerusalem priesthood. Thus the exposition of these verses in the Qumran commentary is a good example of eisegesis - reading the desired interpretation into a text.

This combination of *the violence of the earth and the blood of man* with rebellion, a rather distinctive line of interpretation, also occurs in 1 Enoch 6-11 which uses דם and חמסה in the context of the rebellion of the fallen angels. Thus we have, in 1QpHab and our own Enochic narrative, a common eisegetical approach to the construction of a polemic. Furthermore, both texts concern the application of Babylonian images to a Jewish situation. In 1QpHab, the marauding Babylonians who spoil the earth are equated with the corrupt priesthood who spoil the Jews. In 1 Enoch 6-11, the practise of Babylonian divination is the object of the polemic.

Whilst a common eisegetical approach appears beyond doubt, the question of influence between the *Book of Watchers* and 1QpHab is more complex. The following chart arranges the sources in chronological order:



We can be sure that the *blood and violence* of 1QpHab comes from Habakkuk, so we are searching for the origin of the motif in which rebellion is used with them. This appears to be 1 Enoch 6-11 which has the same motif. The above diagram illustrates the nature of the influence, but we are not able to deduce whether this influence is simply between 1 Enoch 6-11 and 1QpHab, or whether the occurrence of this motif in 1QpHab is due to its use of a well established literary topos which also occurs in 1 Enoch 6-11.

Methodological issues in the critical analysis of 1 Enoch 9.

Incorporating 1 Enoch 9, the Angelic Intercession section, into our critical hypothesis, presents a clear methodological problem. This prayer could itself be a distinct stratum which was composed to introduce the four archangels through whom the Most High responds in chapter ten. Alternatively, it could be composed of several elements which correspond to the various strata already identified in the analyses of the previous chapters.⁵⁷⁷

If the former possibility is accepted, then 1 Enoch 9 would be a skilfully constructed prayer which weaves together the important details of

⁵⁷⁷ The present author considers the former possibility to be correct, and the subsequent literary hypothesis is based upon this presupposition. If the latter view is presumed correct, then we would divide chapter nine as follows: Verses 7-9 would correspond to the core stratum; verse 6 would correspond to the second revision; verses 1-5 & 10-11 would be considered ambiguous.

The existence of the four archangels in 1 Enoch 9:1 implies that the Angelic Intercession section was composed after the completion of the final form of 1 Enoch 10 in which all four archangels play a significant role. This is discussed further in the following commentary.

the preceding chapters into a convenient summary. This summary was built upon the association of the events of the previous chapters with the imagery of *blood and violence* as used in *Habakkuk*,⁵⁷⁸ which describes well the Enochic account of the descent of the angels and pollution of the earth. In support of this hypothesis is the observation that 1 Enoch 8:4 leads well into chapter ten, with the cry of humanity reaching heaven being followed by the immediate and firm response of the Most High.⁵⁷⁹

If the Angelic Intercession section is a distinct stratum in itself, then it is likely to be one of the latest elements in the development of the narrative as its summary follows the chain of events according to the second revision of the narrative and involves the intercession of four archangels. As shall be demonstrated in our analysis of chapter ten, only two of these (Gabriel and Michael) relate to the Watchers and the giants of the core stratum and a third (Raphael) corresponds to the second revision. The first archangel, however, bears no resemblance whatsoever to the preceding narrative. Furthermore, it is with this archangel that the motif of the flood is introduced into the narrative.⁵⁸⁰

Thus the current state of our critical hypothesis is as follows:

⁵⁷⁸ C.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 9:1

⁵⁷⁹ The present author would suggest that 1 Enoch 8:4 originally lead into 1 Enoch 10:9. This would have the complaint of the earth and humanity immediately followed by the judgement of the Most High against the giants whose actions provoked these complaints.

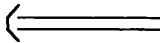
⁵⁸⁰ As shall be demonstrated in the commentary to chapter 10, this is an important exegetical breakthrough.

1 Enoch 6:1-6

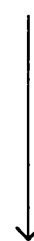
Based upon Genesis 6:1-4 and the Absalom narrative, these verses describe the angelic rebellion.

1 Enoch 6:7-8

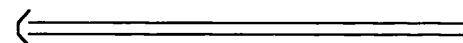
Inserted to enable incorporation of Angelic Instruction stratum.

1 Enoch 7:1-6

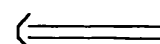
Again based upon Genesis 6:1-4, these verses show the nature of the rebellion and the consequences of this rebellion for the earth and its inhabitants.

1 Enoch 8:1-2

Azael's instruction in metalwork for weaponry and beautifying techniques.

1 Enoch 8:3

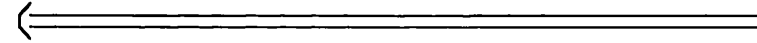
Angelic instruction in the mantic arts.

1 Enoch 8:4

The cry of humanity follows the cry of the earth in 1 Enoch 7:6.

1 Enoch 9:1-11

The petition of the four archangels which utilizes the blood and violence motif from Habakkuk's intercession.

1 Enoch 10:1

The description of the divinity in this verse bears a striking resemblance to that found in 1QapGen XII, 17 which reads:⁵⁸¹

... למרה שמיא לאל עליון לקדישא רבא ...

... to the Lord of the heavens, to the Most High God, to the Great Holy One ...

⁵⁸¹ Fitzmyer (1971), 56-7. C.f. also 1QapGen II, 4 & 14.

The significance of this observation becomes apparent when one examines the immediate context of this phrase. Firstly, we note that the following clause in 1QapGen XII 17 reads:

... *who rescued us from destruction* דִּי פִלְטָנָא מִן אֲבָדָנָא ...

The root פִּלַּט is also used in 1 Enoch 10:17 as attested in 4QEn^c and, as such, is one of the key words in the SL-stratum of the narrative. The context in the Genesis Apocryphon is also Noahic, following on from the account of Noah planting a vineyard and drinking its wine (1QapGen XII, 13-14). This theme of *planting* is also one of the key motifs of the *Son of Lamech* section of 1 Enoch 6-11, occurring in 1 Enoch 10:18-19.⁵⁸²

Thus the Noahic section of the Genesis Apocryphon and the *Son of Lamech* section of 1 Enoch 6-11 share the following elements:

- use of *the Most High, the great and holy One* to refer to God
- use of the root פִּלַּט
- use of the *planting* motif⁵⁸³

It appears that the same traditions which were incorporated into 1 Enoch 6-11, in what we have defined as the *Son of Lamech* revision, were also incorporated into the section of the Genesis Apocryphon which deals with Noah. Whilst this does not constitute the use of a “Book of Noah”, it

⁵⁸² C.f. also the discussion on the Noahic revision in §1.3.

certainly demonstrates the existence of a vibrant set of literary devices centred on this ancient figure which were utilised by various authors.

.....

The mission of the first archangel is primarily concerned with the preservation of the *son of Lamech*. Although built upon obvious Noahic traditions, this was probably not considered to have been fulfilled through Noah, the physical son of Lamech, because the restoration of the earth in Noah's day certainly did not last forever. Thus Noah himself is not named in 1 Enoch 10:1, leaving the more vague *son of Lamech* open to a typological interpretation.⁵⁸⁴ This appears to confirm Hanson's typological model, as there is not the Noahic fulfilment necessary for Nickelsburg's model.⁵⁸⁵ The author is using traditions associated with the story of Noah to construct an allegory⁵⁸⁶ of events which are yet to come to pass.

1 Enoch 10:2

The obviously Noahic element in this verse is the announcement of the impending deluge which will destroy the whole earth. Clearly based upon

⁵⁸³ C.f. the discussion of the *plant* motif in relation to the SL-revision's presentation of the eschaton in §1.4.6.

⁵⁸⁴ Nickelsburg asserts that the destruction of evil and the cleansing of the earth was considered fulfilled during the days of Noah – c.f. Nickelsburg (1977), 388. This is not altogether clear, however, as 1 Enoch 10:3 suggests that the paradisaical state of the restored earth was to last *for all the generations of the world*. Furthermore, 1 Enoch 6-11 makes no attempt to establish a Noahic fulfilment, rather the point is that those who owned the text themselves desired to fulfil what was not accomplished in Noah's day.

⁵⁸⁵ C.f. the previous discussion of the different typological models in §1.4.5.

the Genesis account [c.f. Genesis 6:13], it is against this background that the *son of Lamech* is revealed as the one chosen to survive and repopulate the earth.

1 Enoch 10:3

The full extent of the typology becomes clear in this verse, especially in relation to the ark. The ark is not mentioned in 1 Enoch 6-11, but is replaced by a typological equivalent – the command to *hide* (1 Enoch 10:2) and the need to receive teaching (1 Enoch 10:3) in order to escape the deluge.

Both of these elements suggest a sectarian background, at least for the SL-revision, with the hiding representing the membership of the sect, and the teaching representing the body of instruction accepted by the sect. Thus the message of the SL-revision is that, in order to escape the coming judgement, one must hide within their sect and receive their instruction.

Whether the SL-revision was composed within the Qumran sectarian community, or whether the sectarian aspect of the SL-revision prompted the preservation of the narrative within the Qumran community, cannot be established.

.....

⁵⁸⁶ Contra Collins (1978), 319.

The idea that the seed [σπέρμα, ἡσπλ·] of the righteous one would repopulate the earth following a future judgement is rooted firmly in the Bible, principally in the story of Noah itself [Genesis 7:23 & 9:1 etc.].

There are also a number of other passages from which the SL-reviser could have drawn inspiration that this element of the Noah story would recur. For example, Psalm 112:1-2 states:

*Praise the LORD! Happy is the man who fears the LORD. In his commandments he delights greatly. His seed shall be mighty on the earth, the generation of the upright shall be blessed.*⁵⁸⁷

1 Enoch 10:4

The mission of the second archangel concerns the punishment of Asael and, as such, clearly belongs to the AN-stratum. The punishment of Asael corresponds to that inflicted upon the star of the Animal Apocalypse [1 Enoch 86-88]. Both are bound by their hands and feet and, whilst Asael is cast into the darkness beneath the desert, the star is cast into the Abyss. This appears to confirm Nickelsburg's hypothesis that the author of the Animal Apocalypse based his composition upon 1 Enoch 6-11 as revised by the incorporation of the AN-stratum.⁵⁸⁸

.....

⁵⁸⁷ Other such references include Psalm 37:22-29; 69:35-36; Proverbs 11:21; Isaiah 45:24-25; 54:3; 59:18-21; 65:9, 17-25. This list is by no means exhaustive.

The origin and meaning of the toponym *Dudael* has aroused a certain degree of speculation.⁵⁸⁹ The attested forms are:

Eth.	ዱዳሌል
CP	Δαδοουήλ
Syn.	Δουδαήλ

Thus it appears that CP has inverted the first two syllables and that the more original pronunciation is that attested in both Syncellus and the Ethiopic.

The problem with this name is its divine element which, usually associated with angelic or personal names, appears to be well out of context. The context demands either a toponym or an adjective for the wilderness under which Asael is buried. Thus it may be better, when trying to reconstruct the Aramaic original, to steer away from something containing the divine element.

For example, the Aramaic ܕܘܕܐ - *grief* would fit the context far better:⁵⁹⁰

... and split open the wilderness of grief and throw him in that place.

Such a rare word would probably have caused the Greek translators much consternation, and the solution of suffixing ܠ and rendering it as an angelic

⁵⁸⁸ Nickelsburg (1977), 398.

⁵⁸⁹ Dillmann derived the name from ܕܘܕܐ ܐܠ - *Cauldron of God* whilst Charles linked it with the ܕܘܕܐ ܐܠ to which the Azazel goat was taken - c.f. Knibb (1978), II, 87. Black prefers Charles' suggestion - c.f. Black (1985), 134.

name may lie behind the readings attested in the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

1 Enoch 10:7

Whilst the preceding verses [1 Enoch 10:4-6] relate to Asael, this verse concerns the *Watchers* and what they taught to their giant progeny. Thus it is not to be assigned to the AN-stratum, but to one of the earlier strata, probably the AI-revision.

1 Enoch 10:8

This verse, with its ascribing of all sin to Asael, belongs to the AN-revision. It is interesting that the AN elements in this part of the narrative [1 Enoch 10:4-6 & 8] are located around 1 Enoch 10:7, which refers to the instruction of the angels. Thus it appears that the instruction element contained within the SN+AI narrative attracted the AN-stratum into the narrative. Part of this revision entailed the punishment of Asael for his instruction to mankind being placed around the reference to the destructive consequences of the instruction of the angels.

1 Enoch 10:9-10

The mission of Gabriel is to the progeny of the rebellious angels, which suggests that this section is part of the core SN.

⁵⁹⁰ Jastrow cites this lexeme as occurring in Targ. Prov. XXIII, 29.

Again, as with Asael and the first star of the Animal Apocalypse, the giants share a similar fate to that of the progeny of the fallen stars in the Animal Apocalypse [c.f. 1 Enoch 10:9b with 88:2].⁵⁹¹

There is an interesting contrast being made here between the progeny of the son of Lamech, who will replenish the earth, and the progeny of the rebellious angels, who are slaughtered before their fathers' eyes.⁵⁹² The former are the righteous elect who shall be preserved through the deluge and experience the restored earth. The latter are illegitimate ones whose end is destruction, even though they hoped for eternal life on earth [1 Enoch 10:10]. What they had desired was to be given to the legitimate one – the son of Lamech – and his offspring.

Nickelsburg asserts that the third archangel section was not part of the core SN, on account of the repetition, in 1 Enoch 10:15, of the command to destroy the children of the *Watchers*. Thus Nickelsburg understands 1 Enoch 10:15 as being primary, and 1 Enoch 10:9-10 as being secondary.⁵⁹³ This view, however, seems unlikely as the reader's knowledge of the imminent destruction of the seed of the *Watchers* is presumed in 1 Enoch 10:12.⁵⁹⁴ The present author suggests that 1 Enoch 9-10 is part of the core SN, and that 1 Enoch 10:15 belongs to the SL-stratum.

⁵⁹¹ C.f. the commentary to 1 Enoch 10:4 above.

⁵⁹² Molenberg (1984), 140.

⁵⁹³ Nickelsburg (1977), 384-5.

1 Enoch 10:11

The mission of Michael is to Shemihazah and the angels who descended with him. Thus this section [1 Enoch 10:11-14] should be considered part of the core SN.

1 Enoch 10:12

As stated in the commentary to 1 Enoch 10:9-10, this verse presupposes the readers' knowledge of the sentence previously pronounced upon the giant progeny of the *Watchers*.

This verse states that the angelic rebels are to be bound for seventy generations to await their final judgement. Thus there is an attempt in this verse to place a set time on the duration of this age and, hence, anticipate the advent of the eschaton. As Collins observes, two typical features of historical apocalyptic are the division of history into periods and, consequently, the expectation of a definite end of this present world when evil will be vanquished once and for all. This was first done explicitly by the author of Daniel chapter nine, which speaks of a period of 490 years. Another, less specific, example is the prediction of the four kingdoms in Daniel chapters two and four. One concurs with Collins when he comments that these passages of Daniel, especially the ninth chapter, greatly influenced future attempts to calculate the timing of the eschaton in later apocalyptic writing.

⁵⁹⁴ Even Nickelsburg agrees that 1 Enoch 10:12 is part of the core SN, so its assumption that the reader is aware of the destruction of the giants before 1 Enoch 10:15 suggests that 1

Other examples include the ten generations of the Apocalypse of Weeks, and various writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁵⁹⁵

A little further afield, Persian religion also had the idea that history was set to run for a specific period of time. The duration of the world was considered to be set at 9,000 years, although sometimes it was said to be 12,000 years.⁵⁹⁶ A good example of this in Persian literature is the apocalypse *Bahman Yasht* (BY) which, as noted by Hultgard, “presents most of the themes generally connected with apocalyptic and universal eschatology.”⁵⁹⁷ Known from its Pahlavi translation, it was compiled among Zoroastrians during the ninth or tenth centuries CE.⁵⁹⁸ Despite its late recension, it is generally held to be based upon an Avestan text dating from around the fall of the Achaemenian Empire in the late fourth century BCE.⁵⁹⁹

The BY divides the world into four periods of 3,000 years, and is chiefly concerned with the final period. This final period began with the mission of Zarathushtra, and is to end with the coming of the final saviour –

Enoch 10:9 was part of the original composition.

⁵⁹⁵ John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 52-70. Collins discusses the idea of the periodisation of history in relation particularly to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

⁵⁹⁶ Both being multiples of three. For a further discussion of this, c.f. Shaul Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation* (London: SOAS, 1994), 16.

⁵⁹⁷ Anders Hultgard, “BAHMAN YASHT: A Persian Apocalypse” in John J. Collins & James H. Charlesworth (eds.), *Mysteries and Revelations. Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 114-134, 114. Hultgard highlights such themes as the periodisation of history, ascent, signs of the end of the world, cosmic upheavals and the expectation of a coming saviour.

⁵⁹⁸ Hultgard (1991), 115. For an English translation of this and other Pahlavi texts, c.f. E. W. West (translator), *Pahlavi Texts* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969-70). C.f. especially I 191 ff. & IV 180 ff.

⁵⁹⁹ Hultgard (1991), 119, 125-8. It is thought that the traditions contained in the Avestan text which underlies the BY were transmitted through the medium of *zand* texts (circa 3rd – 6th

the Saoshyant. Following this, the present world will end and a new one will come.⁶⁰⁰ It is clear that this text also contains a prediction of the time when the next saviour would come, and it seems that this prediction had to be adjusted.⁶⁰¹

Thus the attempts of the Jewish sectarians to predict the advent of the eschaton were not unique in their period.⁶⁰² The imprisonment of Shemihazah and the other angels for seventy generations in 1 Enoch 10:12 represents another scheme in which history is divided into a set period, and an implicit attempt to predict the advent of the eschaton.

centuries CE), which are compared by Hultgard to the *Peshers* of Qumran on account of their use of older texts to interpret contemporary events.

⁶⁰⁰ Hultgard (1991), 131. At the end of each millennium, a minor saviour figure was expected to appear. Thus two were expected between the advent of Zarathushtra and the coming of the Saoshyant.

⁶⁰¹ Hultgard (1991), 132.

⁶⁰² Attempts to establish possible influences between the Persian and Jewish traditions are problematic as the provenance of such texts as the BY is still uncertain. There are, however, more intriguing parallels which are worth noting. The BY has, in its first and third sections, a tree whose branches represent different ages – four in the first section and seven in the third. In the first section, the four branches are composed of different metals – gold, silver, steel and mixed iron. This obviously compares well with the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's vision (c.f. Daniel 2:31 ff.), in which its component parts of gold, silver, bronze, iron and iron mixed with clay each represent an era in the ancient Near East – c.f. Hultgard (1991), 115-117. The BY also compares well with Hesiod's *Myth of Ages*, which is given in *Works and Days*, 106-201. This comparison between Hesiod's *Myth of Ages* and the BY was first made by R. Reitzenstein, most notably in R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), 57-67. Reitzenstein noted that the signs of the end of the world in BY are missing in Hesiod's *Myth of Ages*. His prior analysis of Plato's *Theaetetus* led him to conclude that Plato's discussion of the catastrophic end of the world presupposes a knowledge of the oriental forerunner of the *Myth of Ages* which underlies the BY. Hence Reitzenstein concluded that "Plato würde uns, wenn diese Analyse sich einigermaßen bewährte, zum Zeugen für das Alter der Grundvorstellungen des Bahman-Yašt." C.f. Reitzenstein (1926), 67.

The *Myth of Ages* tells of five generations which are represented by the metallic sequence gold, silver, bronze and finally (after the fourth race interrupts the sequence) iron. As West observes, implicit in this myth is the idea that history is set to run for a determined period of time, after which it will end. Furthermore, according to West, "the account of the last race is largely cast in the form of a prophecy [and] has striking oriental parallels." One concurs with West's conclusions that the origin of this myth is Mesopotamian, from where it

1 Enoch 10:15-19

This unit presents the restored earth in agricultural terms, using the motif of the *plant* associated with the person of Noah – c.f. §1.4.6 and the commentary to 1 Enoch 10:1. Hence we identify these verses with the SL-stratum.

1 Enoch 10:20-11:2

We identify this unit with the AI-stratum on account of its reference in 1 Enoch 10:22 to the flood. This immediately places it in a context in which humanity is presumed guilty and in need of punishment. This element is missing from the core SN, in which mankind is presented as the victims of the destructive giants.

was best placed to influence the myth's Jewish, Persian and Greek versions – c.f. West (1978), 27-8 & 173-7.

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Abbreviations

ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CAT	<i>Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
DDDB	Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking & Pieter W. van der Horst (eds.), <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1995)
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IAMS	Institute of Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>

JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JThSt	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NEAEHL	Ephraim Stern (ed.), <i>The New Encyclopædia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993)
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

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